# SUPPLEMENTAL

*to last year's petition dated 15th February 2023*

EDGAR THE ÆTHELING (r OCT - DEC 1066)

*was created by*

KING WILLIAM I (r 1066-1087)

## EARLDOM OF OXFORD 1066/67

*Incorporated within, added fresh corroborative evidence to support the actual creation of the Earldom of Oxford, 1066/67, and tied to the State Document, Domesday Book 1086.*

Researcher and author:
John Lindsay Robert Guest
M.Bus, Grad Dip IR/HRM, B.Ed, B.A.

Petitioners:
John Lindsay Robert Guest, M. Bus., Grad Dip IR/HRM., B.Ed., B.A, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
Dennis Keith Lillee, MBE, AM, Perth Western Australia.
Darren John Halifax, B.A, Perth, Western Australia, Australia.

24th September, 2024

# SUPPLEMENTAL

*to last year's petition dated 15th February 2023*

EDGAR THE ÆTHELING (r OCT - DEC 1066)

*was created by*

KING WILLIAM I (r 1066-1087)

# EARLDOM OF OXFORD 1066/67

*Incorporated within, added fresh corroborative evidence to support the actual creation of the Earldom of Oxford, 1066/67, and tied to the State Document, Domesday Book 1086.*

**Researcher and author:**

John Lindsay Robert Guest

**Petitioners:**

John Lindsay Robert Guest, M. Bus., Grad Dip IR/HRM., B.Ed., B.A, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.
Dennis Keith Lillee, MBE, AM, Perth Western Australia.
Darren John Halifax, B.A, Perth, Western Australia, Australia.

24th September, 2024

This cover illustration is taken as cropped from a larger illustration of Edmund II 'Ironside' (r. Apr – Nov 1016); and his descendants, son Edward the Exile and his children, Edgar the Ætheling, Saint Margaret of Scotland, and Christina. The specific image used on the front cover of this supplemental petition was sourced from the public domain.

With reference to Edmund II Ironside's position in the genealogical roll of the Kings of England, visit the Royal Family's Official Website, Royal UK. Refer also the British Library Board, Royal 14 B. VI membrane.

# TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

The Humble Petition is submitted by John Lindsay Robert Guest [redacted]; Dennis Keith Lillee, MBE, AM [redacted] and Darren John Halifax [redacted]

The petition is for His Royal Highness, King Charles III, to declare Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120) was created Earl of Oxford in the Peerage of England.

Whereby the essential facts in support of His Majesty declaring the creation are these:

1) Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120) was born in Hungary in 1052 (Dr Emily Joan Ward 2020, pp 331-332, p347), "Child King and the Norman Conquest: Representations and Associations of Succession).

2) He, Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120) died in the year 1120, in Scotland (Dr Sayers, Disquisitions, 8vo,1808, p296), with his year of death given by the authority of Sir John Spelman (1480-1546) in his manuscripts of reports cited by Reverend John Sharpe (Sharpe, J, 1854, p238, "William of Malmesbury, A History of the Norman Kings", tr. by J. Sharpe with revised notes by J. Stevenson, Volume 3, Part 1).

3) Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120) married Margaret Canmore, sister of Malcolm III of Scotland, but Edgar died without issue (Sir Bernard Burke & John Burke, 1848, p XV, "Royal Families of England, Scotland, and Wales," Lineage of Queen Matilda, Consort of Henry I).

4) Immediately prior to William of Normandy being made King William I (r. 1066-1087), Edgar was the last Saxon King Edgar II (r. Oct-Dec 1066) and last male descendant in the male line of Cerdic (Royal UK, Edgar Ætheling, r. Oct-Dec 1066) Royal UK genealogical roll of the Kings of England; the British Library Board, Royal 14 B. VI membrane; cf. Baxter S. D, 2009, p97, Edward the Confessor and the Succession Question).

5) Given Edgar died childless he was the only male "Ætheling" known to have directly descended from Cerdic along the patronymic line in England during the period post 5th January 1066 to 1120 and forever, thereafter.

6) William I created, or re-confirmed, Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120), Earl, December 1066 by expert eyewitness account by the circuit royal commissioner for Essex who entered into record written in Latin in his own handwriting the "***Comes Edgar***", into the State Document, known as "Essex folio 4, Great Chesterford, Essex 1, 9 (cf., translation in English of the same, per se, "Earl Edgar" by Doubleday H.A (1903, p337, p338, fn. 1, p430, "Victoria County History [V.C.H.] of Essex, Vol I").

7) "***Edgar Ætheling, Earl of Oxford 1067, first creation***" was researched and written down by Robert Glover (pre-1588) in his unpublished research written in Latin, "Nobilitas Politica vel Civilis**".** His manuscript is believed to be held by the Royal Collection Trust (Source: State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia).

8) Robert Glover (1544-1588) is considered by the Petitioner to be a doubtless principal authority relied upon by the Crown for such matters. He was at the time of his death, Somerset Herald and previously Officer of Arms at the College of Arms, and since is regarded among Britain's great heralds; and Glover's research findings for Edgar, is altogether consistent with the State Document, "Essex folio 4, Great Chesterford, Essex 1, 9".

9) An English translation of his original research by his nephew, Thomas Milles (1610, p 54-55, p 674) "Catalogue of Honor" is also a principal authority, the Crown refers (Gadd, R.P, 1985, pp 130-131, Peerage Law).

*Continued ...*

10) More recently, and as a separate and discrete principal authority, Robert Kelham (1788, p345) Attorney of the King's bench most trustworthy and reliable entry is for Edgar's position of nobility under William I, in 1086, "***Edgar Ætheling,* Earl of Oxford, *Manors of Barkway and Hormead, Hertfordshire".*** Kelham's research is altogether consistent with the State Document, "Essex folio 4, Great Chesterford, Essex 1, 9; and Robert Glover entities in Thomas Milles 1610, p45, pp 54-55, p674 for Edgar Ætheling, Earl of Oxford).

11) Henry Knighton's 1396 "Knighton's Chronicles 1337-1396" (Column 2343, William I, "***Comites Edgar Athelyng***") is further considered as a most trustworthy and reliable source, given Dr Geoffrey Haward Martin's (1928-2007) examination and translation of Knighton's research into English in a book he published in 1995.

12) It is the late Dr G.H. Martin (1995) former Record Keeper UK (1982-1988) and co-editor along with Dr Ann Williams (1986) "Domesday Book: Studies" published by Alecto Historical Editions who did not question the credibility of Knighton's (1396) listing of "Comites Edgar Athelyng" and left Column 2343, William I, as is.

In the expert opinion of Professor Tom Licence, MA, MPhil, PhD, FHEA, FRHistS, FSA, Professor of Medieval History, University of East Anglia, Senior Research Fellow, Magdalene College, Cambridge, who examined the veracity of the evidence submitted within this supplemental petition, concluded in favour of the petitioners' Edgar the Aetheling was created an Earl by William I.

This peerage of England for Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120) has not been formally recognised by the Crown. For this reason, we, the Petitioners, set out in our submissions annexed hereto, the added evidence Edgar created by William I, Earl of Oxford 1066/67.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly pray that Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to recognise and declare that Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120), was created or affirmed by King William I as a Peer of the Realm in the title and style of Earl of Oxford, first creation 1066/67, in the Peerage of England.

Signed by the Petitioners:

[redacted]

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Petitioners, hereafter referred to as the Petitioner, acknowledges and gives thanks, and gratitude, to the following experts and modern historians who gave up their time and expertise to either guide the Petitioner to where he could locate otherwise obscure fresh evidence within Doctor of Philosophy dissertations; other publication from credible authorities; and/or alternatively, connect him to better placed experts, given the subject matter.

From the fresh evidence uncovered, most of the evidence assembled within has either a time stamp or can be placed clearly within the time period 1066-1068, and is specific to the person, Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120), and his position under William I:

- **Professor Tom Licence, MA, MPhil, PhD, FHEA, FRHistS, FSA, Professor of Medieval History, University of East Anglia, Senior Research Fellow, Magdalene College, Cambridge**. Tom's publications include: 2011, Hermits and Recluses in English society, 950-1200; 2014, Herman the Archdeacon and Goscelin of Saint-Bertin: Miracles of St Edmund, ed; 2014, Bury St Edmonds and the Norman Conquest, edited; 2015, What the Victorians Threw Away, Oxbow book). Professor Tom Licence recently in 2020 published "Edward the Confessor: Last of the Royal Blood". He further gave his expert opinion on the veracity of the evidence submitted within this supplemental petition, and concluded Edgar the Ætheling was created an Earl by William I.
- **Dr Rosamond McKitterick, PhD, renowned English medieval historian (pre-conquest/Europe).** Dr McKitterick took the time to connect the Petitioner to Professor David Bates. She further advised of journal articles, and obscure PhD publications that the Petitioner found valuable in explaining Edgar the Ætheling's (1052-1120) nobility and administrative position in William I's royal administration, during the years 1066-1068.
- **Dr Mathew Champion (PhD) Senior Lecturer, Historical and Philosophical Studies at the University of Melbourne.** Dr Champion stepped in as a local facilitator, in Australia, to assist the Petitioner in making contact with the England based experts above.
- **Dr Kathleen Neal (PhD), Senior Lecturer, School of Philosophical Historical and International Studies at Monash University.** Dr Neal facilitated further contact with Dr Mathew Firth, PhD, in Adelaide South Australia.
- **Dr Matthew Firth (PhD), Lecturer in Medieval Literature and History, at Flinders University in Adelaide.** Dr Firth also kindly provided a response to the Petitioner's questions in regards to the meaning of Williams & Martin (2002, p1432; 1992, p156 & 1986, p156) Domesday definitions and some discussion about Edgar Ætheling's position under King William I during the years 1066-1068.
- **Dr David Bates (PhD) Professor at Emeritus College, University of East Anglia, School of History -** A historian of Britain and France during the period from the 10th to 13th centuries. Dr Bates has written many books and articles during his career, and emailed his suggestions, via Dr Rosamond McKitterick, where, perhaps, the Petitioner may find more about Edgar the Ætheling's position under William I for the period 1067-1068, amongst obscure PhD dissertations.
- **Dr Marc Morris (PhD),** independent consultant, self-employed for providing the names of other better placed authorities to assist the Petitioner. **Marc is an author, historian, and also a television presenter of English history (Castle, Channel 4)**.

With equal gratitude and thanks, the petitioner further acknowledges Mr Grant Bavister, College of Arms for his ongoing assistance and sage advice leading up to, and throughout the period this supplemental petition was prepared.

This page is intentionally left blank.

# AUTHORITIES FOR EVIDENCING EDGAR ÆTHELING'S PEERAGE IDENTITY

***for determining the trustworthiness and reliability of the added evidence***

The confirming authorities for determining the trustworthiness of the added evidence submitted in this supplemental petition, making William I creating Edgar Ætheling, Earl, are:

- **Ronald P. Gadd (1985, pp 130-131) Peerage Law, referral to Thomas Milles "Catalogue of Honour" as an authority for the Peerage of England.** R.P. Gadd is a Barrister, M.A., in Law at London University), Historian of Heraldry and Peerage.
- **1086 Original Domesday Manuscript in Latin – Considered by the Petitioner as a State Document, 1086 (Original Domesday Manuscript – "ODM-L Essex folio 4, Great Chesterford, Essex 1, 9"**. This 1086 Domesday record provides Edgar Ætheling's nobility title, styled "***Comes Edgar*** (facsimiles extracted from Open Domesday data created in 2002, by Professor John Palmer and team at the University of Hull).
- **H. Arthur Doubleday (1903, pp 337-336, fn. 1, p430), Victoria County History [V.C.H.] of Essex, Vol I.**
- **College of Arms (1709)** "**Edgar the Ætheling, Earl of Oxford, 1067**" first creation by the authority of **Queen Anne, r.1702-1714 "Office of Honour"**, and their Heralds update of Dr Peter Heylyn's 1641, "Help to the History of England**".**
- **Robert Kelham's (1788, p345), "Domesday Book Illustrated" (1788, p345)** from his translation of the 1086 original Domesday manuscript written in Latin (**Kelham was an Attorney to the King's Bench, and expert translator of Latin into English, in his book**).
- **Robert Glover (1588), "Nobilitas Politica vel Civilis"** (Original book held by the Royal Collection Trust). Glover's highly respected research written in Latin and sat unpublished until it was edited and updated and published in 1608 in Latin, by his nephew, Thomas Mille's and published by Milles in English in 1610. **At the time Glover completed his research he was Somerset Hearld, and earlier, Office of Arm, College of Arms.**
- **Thomas Milles (1610) "Catalogue of Honor",** which was an edit, update and Latin to English translation of his uncle, Robert Glover's 1558 Latin manuscript, "Nobilitas Politica vel Civilis".
- **William Martyn (1615) The Historie and Lives of Kings of England.** Martyn is cited in the catalogue of writers, as one of his principal authorities consulted by Sir Richard Baker, Knight (1643) "A chronicle of the Kings of England, from the time of the Romans Government [sic] Unto the Reign of King Charles I. William Martyn (1562-1617) was Recorder of Exeter, an English lawyer, researcher, historian and author.
- **Henry Knighton (1396, Col. 2343, William I), "Knighton's Chronical, 1337-1396** (Original Latin manuscript) (Col. 2343, William I, "Comites Edgar Athelyng" (Also: Dr Geoffrey Martin (1995) English translation of Henry Knighton's 1396 "Knighton's Chronicles, 1337-1396. Martin (1995) found his research to be a trustworthy and reliable source for the history of England including Edgar Ætheling's listing as Earl Edgar Ætheling, 1067; cf. practically the same assessment by Sir Roger Twysden, 2nd Baronet, 1597-1672, "Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X 1652).
- **Dr Ann William's & Geoffrey Halward Martin's (1992, p156; 1986) Domesday: Studies, published by Alecto Historical Edition** (English translation of the original 1086 Domesday manuscript).
- **Dr Anne Digby and Prof Charles Feinstein (1991, p2)** Domesday Book "**Glossary"** in Economic History Society (EHS).
- **Professor Tom Licence, MA, MPhil, PhD, FHEA, FRHistS, FSA, Professor of Medieval History, University of East Anglia, Senior Research Fellow, Magdalene College, Cambridge.** Tom gave his expert opinion on the veracity of the evidence submitted within this supplemental petition, and concluded in favour of the petitioner's statement that, on balance of probabilities, Edgar the Ætheling was created an Earl by William I. He arrived at that conclusion also by his independent arguments, incorporated as Attachment I in this supplemental petition (refer pages 81-82, Professor Tom Licence, Letter of expert opinion).

This page is intentionally left blank.

# DOMESDAY BOOK GLOSSARY

Dr Ann Williams PhD & Dr Geoffrey H. Martin PhD (1986, p156) Domesday Book: Studies, Alecto Historical Editions and Dr Anne Digby and Prof Charles Feinstein (1991, p2) Domesday Book "Glossary" in Economic History Society (EHS).

**Earl (1066-1086):** (ON. Jarl, nobleman, commander). In the OE, period, the chief administrative officers of the king, see over the main divisions of the kingdom (Wessex, Mercia, East Anglia and Northumbria): also, the highest rank of the Old English kingdom, aristocracy after the Æthelings. It replaces the earlier title ealdorman (OE. Earldor, lord ealdorman), in the early eleventh century. The title survived the Conquest, but the earls of the Norman period had more restricted areas of command (usually a single shire) (Williams & Martin 1986, p156).

**Ætheling (1066-1086):** Ætheling (Old English) is a term applied to the royal princes of the Old English kingdom, the sons and brothers of the reigning king from whom the next generation was chosen (Williams & Martin 1986, p156) (With "Atheling" to equal in read, the same definition for the spelling as "Atheling", "Adeling", "Adelyng" etc [mine]).

**Demesne:** Lands not let out to tenants (Digby & Feinstein, 1991, p2).

**Geld:** Literally `money', but used for all sorts of taxes. `The geld' denotes the national system of taxation (Digby & Feinstein, 1991, p2).

**Honor [of land]**: Honour, Honor (Latin., honor, worth). The collection of FIEFS held by a TENANT-IN-CHIEF OF A MUSNE-TENANT. See Special Study II.

**Hundred:** The administrative unit within the shire in the south and west of England (Digby & Feinstein, 1991, p2).

**ODM-L:** An acronym rather than definition and applied in this petition as a unique identifier for extracts taken from the 1086 Original Domesday Manuscript written in Latin (DM-L) sourced from Open Domesday, University Hull presented as a digital database by Professor John J. N. Palmer and team in 2002, with maps and site maintained by Anna Powell-Smith.

**Satellites:** Narratives and texts of various size and ilk, associated with the Domesday Inquiry, including the internet, but their exact relationship is undetermined (adapted from Digby & Feinstein, 1991, p2).

**Tenants-in-chief:** The leading barons who held land from the king (Digby & Feinstein, 1991, p2).

**Thegns**: Anglo-Saxon gentry (Digby & Feinstein, 1991, p2).

**Vills:** A feudal township consisting of a number of houses or buildings with their adjacent lands (Digby & Feinstein, 1991, p2).

**Wapentake:** The local administrative unit in the Danelaw, equivalent to the hundred (Digby & Feinstein, 1991, p2).

This page is intentionally left blank.

# THE PETITIONER'S SUBMISSION

Added evidence Edgar Ætheling was created an Earl by William I.

This page is intentionally left blank.

# CONTENTS

**PURPOSE OF THIS SUPPLEMENTAL PETITION** ..... **15**
**Overview** ..... **15**
**Submission of fresh corroborative evidence organised into three categories** ..... **15**
**Brief explanation of how these evidence sources were found to be linked** ..... **16**
**FRESH EVIDENCE OF THE EARLDOM'S CREATION** ..... **17**
**First set of evidence – 1066 antecedents for William I creating Edgar, Earl of Oxford** ..... **17**
Edgar Ætheling in "Chronique De L Abbaye De Saint Riquier V" (1080s, p241) ..... 17
Hariulf's (1080s, p241) error now stands corrected in favour of Edgar the Ætheling ..... 17
Other corrective advice for analogous errors transferred to reading Domesday ..... 19
Edgar, conferred Earl of Oxford by Harold III under the redundant jurisdiction ..... 19
Edgar, Edward the Confessors great nephew, and as it appears, his adopted son ..... 20
Edgar the last male on the male line descending from Cerdic ..... 22
Edgar, as King Edgar (r. Oct -Dec 1066) ..... 22
King Edgar's (r. Oct -Dec 1066), voluntary abdication ..... 23
Edgar Ætheling within Domesday Book Series definitions, "Ætheling" and "Earl" ..... 24
**Second set of evidence – Edgar Ætheling in Domesday (State Document)** ..... **27**
Edgar, an Earl under William I ..... 27
Other authorities making from the same evidence, 1086 Domesday Book record, Edgar was Earl ..... 28
Victoria History of the County of Essex, confirmation that in 1086 ODM-L, Edgar was Earl ..... 31
Other fresh evidence that Edgar was known an Earl by Domesday royal commissioners ..... 35
Earl Edgar Ætheling's record for the Manor of Upton, Huntingdonshire 1066 ..... 37
Earl Edgar Ætheling's record for the Manor of Barkway and Hormead Hertfordshire, 1086 ..... 39
Probable real property held in trust for Earl Edgar at Oxfordshire and Warwickshire ..... 41
**Third set of evidence – Listings of Edgar as Earl of Oxford by Other Authority** ..... **45**
Edgar the Ætheling's (1052-1120) position in the royal court for the years, 1067 and 1068 ..... 45
Henry Knighton's 1396 "Knighton's Chronicle, 1337-1396" ..... 51
Thomas Milles's (1610) "Catalogue of Honor" & Edgar Ætheling's Earl of Oxford, 1067 ..... 53
William Martyn's 1615 "The Historie and Lives of Kings of England" ..... 59
Dr Peter Heylyn, D.D "Help to the History of England" – List of Earls of Oxford ..... 63
Hume's 1778 confirmation of the Earldom of Oxford, December 1066 ..... 67
Robert Kelham's 1788 evidence of the creation of the Earldom of Oxford, December 1066 ..... 69
**Edgar Ætheling, Earl of Oxford's death in Scotland in 1120** ..... **73**
**KEY FINDINGS** ..... **75**
**Edgar Ætheling was found to be an Earl in Domesday** ..... **75**
**Edgar Ætheling was created Earl of Oxford, 1067, first creation by William I, by authority** ..... **75**
**FINAL STATEMENTS** ..... **77**
**PETITIONER'S FINAL DETERMINATION** ..... **77**
**ATTACHMENT 1** ..... **79**
**Letter of expert opinion** ..... **81**
**TABLE OF NAMES** ..... **83**
**BIBLIOGRAPHY** ..... **85**

This page is intentionally left blank.

## PURPOSE OF THIS SUPPLEMENTAL PETITION

Overview

A1. The purpose of this Supplement Petition is to strengthen the Petitioner's case further that King William I (1028-1087) created for Edgar Ætheling (1052-1120), the Earl of Oxford title, on, or shortly thereafter, 25th December 1066. This additional evidence may, perhaps, clear the way for His Majesty to consider declaring the creation.

A2. The nature of the evidence to follow for consideration by the Crown to declare the creation is altogether consistent with instruction to Lawyers and Laymen offered by Francis Beaufort Palmer (1907, p235) for having a great peer of the realm recognised should they be found absent from a Patent Roll, and/or absent from the officially compiled or maintained Peerage Roll, per se (Palmer, F. B., 1907, p235, Peerage Law in England: A Practical Treatise for Lawyers and Laymen) [***emphasis mine***]:

> ***"Where a patent of cannot be found recorded in the Patent Rolls or elsewhere in the records, other evidence must be resorted to"***

A4. Whilst the burden of proof required to prove the creation, is likely perhaps, to be "on the balance of probability" the Petitioner has however, endeavoured to exceed that level (Re: Baronetcy claim of "In re: Pringle of Stitchill JCPC (2016)" (Judicial Committee of the Privy Council sitting as the Baronets Committee).

A5. Altogether separate from the advice above, and based on the sage advice of Mr Grant Bavister, College of Arms, the Petitioner's make clear in this introduction that they drop from last year's petition, any claim for succession based on either petitioner, genealogically speaking, being next in line (Re: Bavister, G, 2024, p3, Letter by email to the Petitioner, Succession to the Earldom of Oxford, College of Arms, 22nd January, 2024).

A6. The Petitioner's, John Lindsay Robert Guest (1960-); Dennis Keith Lillee (1949-), MBE, AM; and Darren John Halifax (1965-), are hereafter referred to in this submission, simply as the "Petitioner".

A7. The submission is presented in a similar format to the last year's petition, but given its non-genealogical continuity nature, it is understandably significantly shorter in length.

Submission of fresh corroborative evidence organised into three categories

A8. The fresh evidence presented in this supplemental Petition is organised according to three evidence categories, and all three are linked.

A9. **The first set of evidence** - The antecedents or antecessor, are predecessors, i.e., custom and practice as evidence by documentation either followed or replaced by William I after his coronation tied specifically to Edgar the Ætheling's (1052-1120) personal life in 1066. It includes documentary evidence of Edgar's position in King Edward the Confessor's family and/or royal court, nobility title or office and his situation under Harold III. The Petitioner deems these antecedents are important to appreciate why, for example, William created for Edgar the earldom with the geographical appellation "Oxford".

A10. **The second set of evidence** - is the assembly of direct contemporary evidence taken from State Document 1086 Original Domesday Manuscript – Latin (1086 ODM-L), recognising Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120), as Earl but written as "Comes Edgar" or elsewhere simply as Edgarus, Edgaro, Edgarum, Edgar Adeling.

A11 **The third set of evidence** - presented to the Crown, is similar in character to the 17th century sources disclosed in last year's petition, listing Edgar Ætheling, as the first Earl of Oxford, after William I was crowned King of England, but far more definitive.

Brief explanation of how these evidence sources were found to be linked

A12. The Petitioner says these three evidence categories are linked through recognition of the language and words used in the various expert narratives tying each of them to principal authorities of an earlier period, many with the same complete ending, middle and beginnings, in English or Latin, e.g. "Edgar Ætheling, Earl of Oxford, 1067" or "Earl Edgar" and with or without the Old English (OE) kingdom letter, "Æ".

A13. The linguistic "handles" so to speak, or "linguistic marker" found present in work of various credible authorities in which their work is consulted within this petition, include but are not limited to: "Ædger" or "Ædger Ætheling", "Æarl" or "Æarl of Oxford", "1067", or their variants, Latin, Old English or corrupted spelling, including also their Latin versions "*Adeling", "Athelyng*", *Comes Edgar*", "Edgaro", "Edgarum" "Edgari" with or without the Old English marker for "A" or "E" ("Æ") (Coulthard, M., 2004, p 431, " Author Identification, Idiolect and Linguistic Uniqueness, Applied Linguistics, 25, 4., pp 431-447").

## FRESH EVIDENCE OF THE EARLDOM'S CREATION

### First set of evidence – 1066 antecedents for William I creating Edgar, Earl of Oxford

Edgar Ætheling in "Chronique De L Abbaye De Saint Riquier V" (1080s, p241)

A14. Hariulf' (1080s) History of St Riquier Saint-Riquier, Northern France is an important referral. First, the abbey Hariulf was attached, was part of the diocese of Amiens in Ponthieu. He, monk Hariulf, developed from his contemporary research the links with both the Norman and English courts. When he compiled his chronicle, Edgar the Ætheling and William I were frequently in Normandy suggesting he had good access to make trustworthy his contemporary accounts.

A15. He makes some interesting observations about Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120) in context of the year of the Norman Conquest of England, 1066; and when necessary, corrections are factored into his original, printed narrative, as advised by "modern day experts" Edgar's life in 1066 is better understood. Hariulf's naming error for Edgar standing corrected, the Petitioner was able to find further evidence of why William I came to give Edgar's post conquest Earldom the appellation Oxford. These modern experts for correction advice necessary for accurate interpretation of Hariulf's (1080s, p 241) are Elisabeth van Houts (1995, p846) [*tentatively*] "The Norman Conquest through European Eyes", HER 110, 1995, pp 832-853, cited by Licence, 2017, p123, fn. 43; Dr T. Licence (2017, p123), "Edward the Confessor and the Succession: A Fresh Look at the Sources"; Dr Emily Joan Ward (2020, p339), "Child Kings and the Norman Conquest" [*mine*].

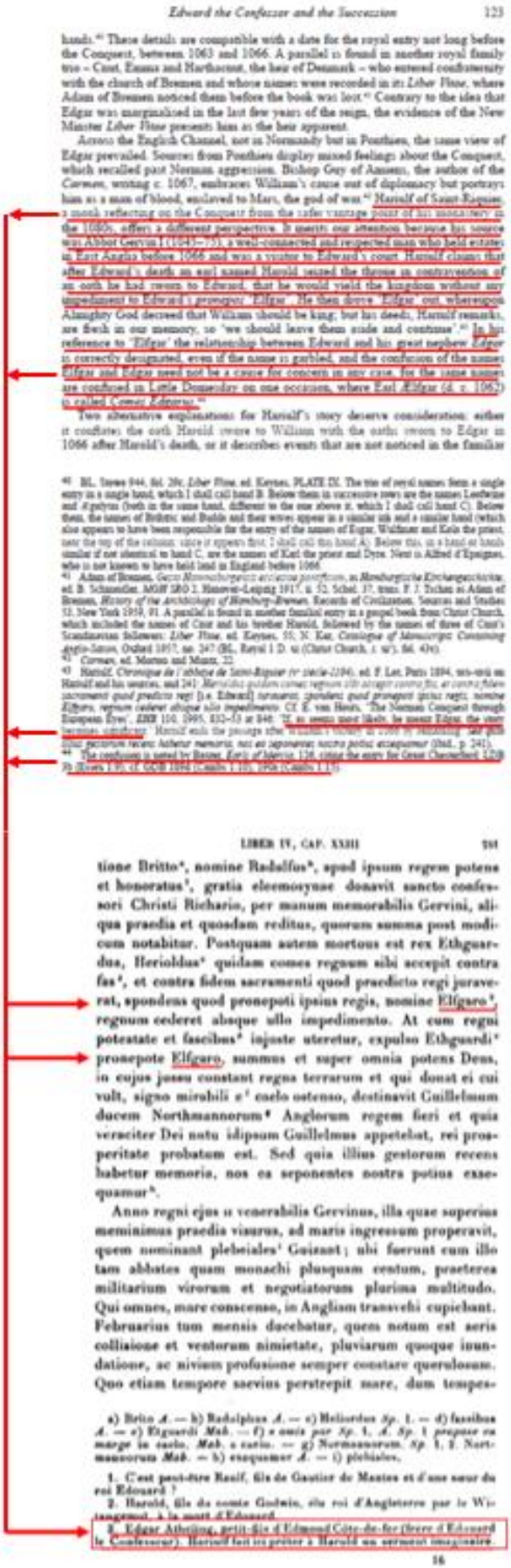
A16. The correction advice by these experts assisted the Petitioner to consider that the probable reason why Harold III (r. Jan 1066- Oct 1066) conferred on Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120), in his fourteenth year, Earl of Oxford, as an act of appeasement. Prima facie, history points to this title being further conferred on Edgar in his fifteenth year by William I but under altogether a different jurisdiction after William of Normandy (1028-1087) was crowned King of England on the 25th December 1066.

Hariulf's (1080s, p241) error now stands corrected in favour of Edgar the Ætheling

A17. From the short list of modern experts noted above, who astutely recognised the significance of Hariulf's (1080s, p 241) slip of the quill*, it was Dr Licence (2017, p123) however, who first drew readers to some unique genealogical identifiers to make the Hariulf's (1080s, p241) passage good in favour of restoring Edgar's identity. These included making doubtless Edgar was King Edward the Confessor great nephew, and Ælfgar was not, and further Ælfgar was dead sufficiently well prior to 1066 around 1062/3, whilst Edgar was very much alive in 1066, and went on to live a long life, dead in 1120. For those dismissing the importance of Hariulf's footnote 3 for proper identification of Edgar in his main passage, these genealogical factors alone make obscured any further misidentification of Edgar as the contemporary author Hariulf no doubt intended when he sat down and wrote his passage in the 1080s (* *The Petitioner now suspects this error may have been made by the publisher of Hariulf handwritten script rather than Hariulf's error – speculative*).

A18. The corrective page from Dr T. Licence (2017, p123) research extracted, is submitted overleaf and connected by further markings made by the Petitioner to show Hariulf's (1080s, p241) error.

A19. Placed together they make clear why Dr Licence's (2017, p123) corrective advice becomes important for understanding that Hariulf's (1080s, p241) intention, was always to name Edgar Ætheling (1052-1120), Edward the Confessor's (c1003-1066) great nephew, and not Ælfgar.



*Edward the Confessor and the Succession* 123

hands.[40] These details are compatible with a date for the royal entry not long before the Conquest, between 1063 and 1066. A parallel is found in another royal family trio – Cnut, Emma and Harthacnut, the heir of Denmark – who entered confraternity with the church of Bremen and whose names were recorded in its *Liber Vitae*, where Adam of Bremen noticed them before the book was lost.[41] Contrary to the idea that Edgar was marginalized in the last few years of the reign, the evidence of the New Minster *Liber Vitae* presents him as the heir apparent.

Across the English Channel, not in Normandy but in Ponthieu, the same view of Edgar prevailed. Sources from Ponthieu display mixed feelings about the Conquest, which recalled past Norman aggression. Bishop Guy of Amiens, the author of the *Carmen*, writing c. 1067, embraces William's cause out of diplomacy but portrays him as a man of blood, enslaved to Mars, the god of war.[42] Hariulf of Saint-Riquier, a monk reflecting on the Conquest from the safer vantage point of his monastery in the 1080s, offers a different perspective. It merits our attention because his source was Abbot Gervin I (1045–75), a well-connected and respected man who held estates in East Anglia before 1066 and was a visitor to Edward's court. Hariulf claims that after Edward's death an earl named Harold seized the throne in contravention of an oath he had sworn to Edward, that he would yield the kingdom without any impediment to Edward's *pronepos*, Elfgar. He then drove Elfgar out, whereupon Almighty God decreed that William should be king; but his deeds, Hariulf remarks, are fresh in our memory, so 'we should leave them aside and continue'.[43] In his reference to 'Elfgar' the relationship between Edward and his great nephew Edgar is correctly designated, even if the name is garbled, and the confusion of the names Elfgar and Edgar need not be a cause for concern in any case, for the same names are confused in Little Domesday on one occasion, where Earl Ælfgar (d. c. 1062) is called *Comes Edgarus*.[44]

Two alternative explanations for Hariulf's story deserve consideration: either it conflates the oath Harold swore to William with the oath sworn to Edgar in 1066 after Harold's death, or it describes events that are not noticed in the familiar

[40] BL, Stowe 944, fol. 20r, *Liber Vitae*, ed. Keynes, PLATE IX. The trio of royal names form a single entry in a single hand, which I shall call hand B. Below them in successive rows are the names Ledwine and Æpelwin (both in the same hand, different to the one above it, which I shall call hand C). Below them, the names of Brihtric and Budde and their wives appear in a similar ink and a similar hand (which also appears to have been responsible for the entry of the names of Eugar, Wulfmar and Eola the priest, near the top of the column; since it appears that I shall call this hand A). Below this, in a hand or hands similar if not identical to hand C, are the names of Earl the priest and Dyra. Nest is Alfred d'Epaignes, who is not known to have held land in England before 1066.

[41] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, as *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, ed. B. Schmeidler, MGH SRG 2, Hannover-Leipzig 1917, ii. 52, Schol. 37, trans. F. J. Tschan as Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies 53, New York 1959, 91. A parallel is found in another familial entry in a gospel book from Christ Church, which included the names of Cnut and his brother Harold, followed by the names of three of Cnut's Scandinavian followers: *Liber Vitae*, ed. Keynes, 55; N. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, Oxford 1957, no. 247 (BL, Royal 1 D. ix (Christ Church, s. xi<sup>1</sup>), fol. 40v).

[42] *Carmen*, ed. Morton and Muntz, 22.

[43] Hariulf, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier (IV<sup>e</sup> siècle-1104)*, ed. F. Lot, Paris 1894, xxv–xxvi as Hariulf and his sources, and 241: *Hariulfus quidam comes regnum sibi accepit contra fas, et contra fidem sacramenti quod predicto regi* [i.e. Edward] *iuraverat, spondens quod pronepoti ipsius regis, nomine Elfgaro, regnum cederet absque ullo impedimento*. Cf. E. van Houts, 'The Norman Conquest through European Eyes', *EHR* 110, 1995, 832–53 at 848: 'If, as seems most likely, he meant Edgar, the more harmless candidate'. Hariulf ends the passage thus: 'William's victory is due to God, to whom we give thanks and pray that our sins may be forgiven. Nevertheless, since the recent events are still in our memory, we shall leave them aside and continue' (Ibid., p. 241).

[44] The confusion is noted by Round, *Early of Warwick*, 126, citing the entry for Great Chesterford, 12,[illegible] in Rivers 1[illegible]; cf. DGB 1[illegible] (Cambs.) 1[illegible], 190a (Cambs.) 1[illegible].

LIBER IV, CAP. XXIII 591

tione Britto[a], nomine Radulfus[b], apud ipsum regem potens et honoratus[c], gratia eleemosynae donavit sancto confessori Christi Richario, per manum memorabilis Gervini, aliqua praedia et quosdam reditus, quorum summa post modicum notabitur. Postquam autem mortuus est rex Ethguardus, Herioldus[d] quidam comes regnum sibi accepit contra fas[e], et contra fidem sacramenti quod praedicto regi juravet, spondens quod pronepoti ipsius regis, nomine Elfgaro[f], regnum cederet absque ullo impedimento. At cum regni potestate et fascibus[g] injuste uteretur, expulso Ethguardi[h] pronepote Elfgaro, summus et super omnia potens Deus, in cujus jussu constant regna terrarum et qui donat ei cui vult, signo mirabili e[i] caelo ostenso, destinavit Guillelmum ducem Northmannorum[g] Anglorum regem fieri et quia verasciter Dei nutu idipsum Guillelmus appetebat, rei prosperitate probatum est. Sed quia illius gestorum recens habetur memoria, nos ea seponentes nostra potius exsequamur[h].

Anno regni ejus II venerabilis Gervinus, illa quae superius meminimus praedia visurus, ad maris ingressum properavit, quem nominant plebeiales[i] Guizant; ubi fuerunt cum illo tam abbates quam monachi plusquam centum, praeterea militarium virorum et negotiatorum plurima multitudo. Qui omnes, mare conscenso, in Anglium transvehi cupiebant. Februarius tum mensis ducebatur, quem notum est aeris collisione et ventorum nimietate, pluviarum quoque inundatione, ac nivium profusione semper constare querulosum. Quo etiam tempore saevius perstrepit mare, dum tempes-

a) Britto *A*. — b) Radulphus *A*. — c) Heliordus *Sp*. 1. — d) fascibus *A*. — e) Elguardi *Mab*. — f) *a omis par Sp*. 1, *A*. *Sp*. 1 *propose en marge in caelo*. *Mab*. a caelo. — g) Normannorum. *Sp*. 1, 2. Northmannorum *Mab*. — h) exequamur *A*. — i) plebiales.

1. C'est peut-être Raulf, fils de Gautier de Mantes et d'une sœur du roi Édouard ?

2. Harold, fils du comte Godwin, élu roi d'Angleterre par le Witangemot, à la mort d'Édouard.

3. Edgar Atheling, petit-fils d'Edmond Côte-de-fer (frère d'Édouard le Confesseur). Hariulf fait ici prêter à Harold un serment imaginaire.

16

A20. Suffice to say, and for the benefit in informing the Crown, the simple naming error which is ascribed in print to Hariulf (1080s, p241) incorrectly naming "Edgar", "Ælfgar", above, stands corrected in favour of listing Edgar Ætheling.

Other corrective advice for analogous errors transferred to reading Domesday

A21. Prima facie, with the benefit of uncovering the royal commissioner's hand written entry in the original 1086 Domesday Book written in Latin for "Edgar the Ætheling", *per se*, showing up in record as "*Comes Edgar" as the owner of Great Chesterford, Essex, from 1066 until it came to the King in 1086* (1086 ODM-L, Essex folio 4, "Comes [Earl] Edgar", Great Chesterford, Essex) - the Petitioner's discovery further proves an error is made when the writer incorrectly states Earl Ælfgar (d 1062) held that property.

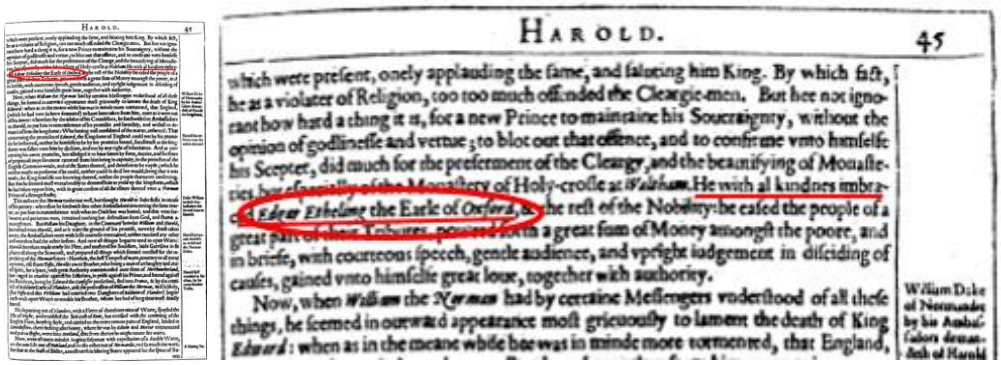
A22 The "Victoria County History [V.C.H.] of Essex, Vol I (p 337, p338, fn. 1, p 430) correctly and in an unconvoluted way, explained to their readers "Earl Edgar" held Great Chesterford, Essex from 1066, until it came to King William I by record in 1086. The V.C.H.'s (1903, p 337, p 338, fn. 1; p 430). The V.C.H. source is the same as the Petitioner's (1086 ODM-L, Essex folio 4, "Comes Edgar", Great Chesterford, Essex).

Edgar, conferred Earl of Oxford by Harold III under the redundant jurisdiction

A23. Early in 1066, probably immediately after Edward the Confessor died, some credible researchers make Edgar the Ætheling, Earl of Oxford, created by Harold III. If the Crown considers this to be fact, the confirmation becomes an antecedent of why William I would come to give the personal dignity peerage title Earl of Oxford to Edgar Ætheling.

A24. The Authorities making this determination include Thomas Milles (1610, p45, p674) "Catalogue of Honor"; Hume, D (1778, pp 191-192), "History of England" Volume 1; Vidler, L.A., (1841, p 33) "Gleanings Respecting Battel and its Abbey"; William Francis Collier L.L.D, (1881, p 48) "History of the British Empire, Trinity College, Dublin). It is Thomas Milles (1610, p 45) which is the English translation of his uncle Robert Glover (1544-1588) Somerset Herald, Officer of the College of Arms research, who is the earliest of all of these authorities who wrote down King Harold III made Edar Ætheling, Earl of Oxford, early in 1066:

***"He [Harold III] with the kindness embraced Edgar Etheling the Earle of Oxford," [mine] (Milles, 1610, p 45).***



HAROLD. 45

which were present, onely applauding the fame, and saluting him King. By which fact, he as a violater of Religion, too too much offended the Cleargie-men. But hee not ignorant how hard a thing it is, for a new Prince to maintaine his Soueraignty, without the opinion of godlinesse and vertue; to blot out that offence, and to confirme vnto himselfe his Scepter, did much for the preferment of the Cleargy, and the beautifying of Monasteries, but especially of the Monastery of Holy-crosse at *Waltham*. He with al kindnes embraced *Edgar Etheling* the Earle of *Oxford*, as the rest of the Nobility: he eased the people of a great part of their Tributes, poured forth a great sum of Money amongst the poore, and in briefe, with courteous speech, gentle audience, and vpright iudgement in diuiding of causes, gained vnto himselfe great loue, together with authority.

Now, when *William* the *Norman* had by certaine Messengers vnderstood of all these things, he seemed in outward appearance most grieuously to lament the death of King *Edward*: when as in the meane while hee was in minde more tormented, that England,

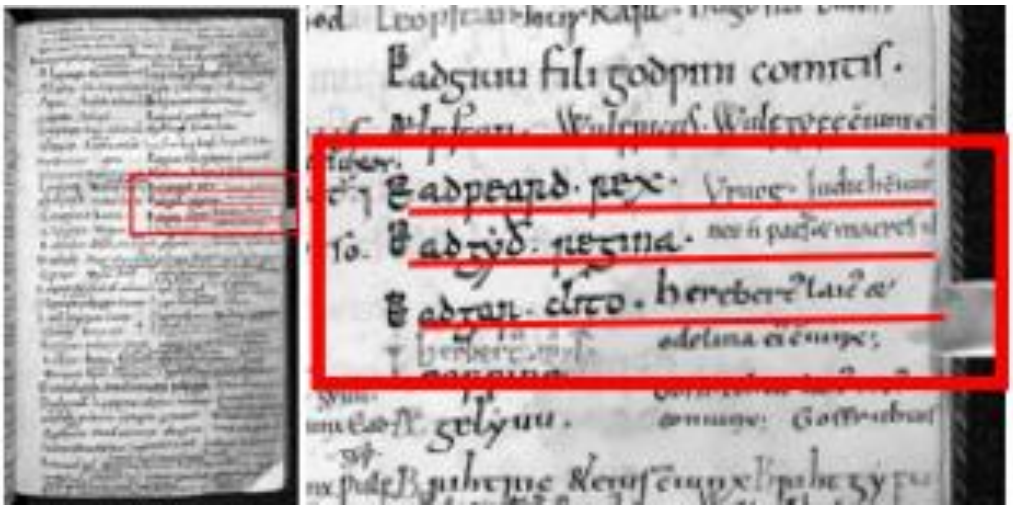
William Duke of Normandy by his Ambassadors demanded of Harold

Edgar, Edward the Confessors great nephew, and as it appears, his adopted son

A25. There is strong evidence for the Petitioner to claim as fact, King Edward the Confessor and his wife, Queen Edith adopted Edgar.

A26. Informed by the research of Dr Tom Licence (2017, p123), Edgar's name is entered as alongside those of King Edward and Queen Edith in the Liber Vitae of the New Minister, Winchester (BL, MS Stowe 944, fol. 29r; published in facsimile as the Liber Vitae of the New Minister and Hyde Abbey Winchester, ed. S. Keynes, 1996, Earl English Manuscripts in facsimile 26, Copenhagen, 1996).

A27. Licence attributed his source for the image as: British Library MS Stowe 944 fol. 29r:



A28. Licence (2017, p122) writes:

> ***"Depending on whether we think of him in this way – his great nephew Edgar, Edward's adoptive son".***

A29. The Master of Rolls in 1857 became aware of the adoption and in context of the laws of England by the research of William Stubbs (1869, p236), "The Constitutional History of England in Its Origin and Development, Vol II".

A30. Whereby in 1857, William Stubbs, D.D.* was given of the lord's commissioner of Her Majesty's Treasury, in 1857, under the direction of the master of the rolls to undertake the research and publish the work which resulted in 1869 (*Dr William Stubbs, 1825-1901, D.D., M.A., Hon FRSE, was an English historian and Anglican bishop. He was Bishop of Chester from 1884 to 1889 and Bishop of Oxford from 1889 to 190, Regius Professor of Modern History at the University of Oxford between 1866 and 1884 in the University of Oxford, he was made a Fellow of the Oriel College and Sometime Librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Refer to Hunt W, "William Stubbs" 1911 Encyclopædia Britannica, Volume 25, pp 1048- 1048, cf. Letters of William Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford, ed. W. H. Hutton).

A31. Stubbs (1869, p236) translated aspects of the original research manuscript by Roger Howden's Chronicles (c 1202) and applied them as it seems to the laws of England to determine Edgar was the adopted son of King Edward the Confessor and Queen Edith (Howden, R, died circa 1202, p 236, "The Chronicles and Memorial of Great Britain and Ireland During the Middle Ages" Vo II, and edited and published his work in 1869.

A32. This is what Stubbs (1869, p236) wrote about the adoption of Edgar the Ætheling by King Edward the Confessor in context of the Laws of England. The passage shows Stubb's determinations written in English, and placed no doubt with circumspect, against a facsimile of Roger Howden's original Latin text:

236 CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

Laws of England.

*Quomodo Sancta Margareta, mater regis David Scotiæ, cum patre et matre, sorore, et fratre Eadgaro Edelingo, de quo Sanctus Eadwardus rex hæredem regni sui facere voluit, in Angliam venit.*

(XXXV.) The posterity of Edmund Ironside.

" (XXXV.) Iste præfatus Edmundus habuit quendam filium " Eadwardum nomine, qui mox patre mortuo, timore regis " Cnuti aufugit ad regnum Dogorum,[1] quod nos melius voca- " mus Russiam. Quem rex terræ Malescoldus[2] nomine, ut " cognovit quis esset, honeste retinuit. Qui de nobili progenie " ibidem duxit uxorem, de qua natus est ei Aedgarus Adeling, " et Margareta quæ fuit postea regina Scotiæ, et Christiana " soror ejus. Cui Christianæ rex Eadwardus dedit terram " quam habuit postea Radulfus de Limesi.[3] Propter quem " misit rex Eadwardus avunculus ejus, et fecit eum venisse " ad se. Qui postquam venit, non multum postea vixit, et " uxor illius in brevi temporis curriculo defuncta est. Rex " vero Eadwardus Eadgarum filium eorum secum retinuit, et " pro filio nutrivit. Et quia cogitabat eum hæredem facere, " nominavit eum Adeling, quod nos dicimus *domicellum*. Sed " nos indiscrete de pluribus dominis, quia barones vocamus " domicellos; Angli vero nullum nisi natos regum. Quod si " expressius volumus dicere, in Saxonica, *ling* imago dicitur, " *Adela* Anglice, *nobilis* Latine. Quod simul conjunctum " sonat, *nobilis imago*, Edeling. Unde etiam occidentales " Saxones Cestrenses[4] habent in proverbio summi despectus " Edeling,[5] id est, ab omni honestate dejectus, vel retrocedens " imago.

Edward the Confessor adopts Edgar Atheling.

*Quomodo sanctus rex Eadwardus propter iniquitatem et nequitiam gentis suæ, et maxime per insolentiam et superbiam filiorum Godwini, Willelmum ducem heredem regni fecit, et quod de Ædgaro facere nequivit.*

A33. If we are inclined to accept the authority of the lord's commissioner of Her Majesty's Treasury, in 1857, under the direction of the master of the rolls in the glorious rein of Queen Victoria (r. Jun 1837- Jan 1901) (Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene, edited by William Stubbs, Volume II, published 1869), perhaps this extract above taken from William Stubb's research (1869, p236), provides sufficient confirmation Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120) was not only Edward's great nephew, he was further made the adopted son by King Edward the Confessor and Queen Edith.

Edgar the last male on the male line descending from Cerdic

A34. When King Edward the Confessor died on 5th January 1066, Edgar was in his fourteenth year and he, Edgar, became the only surviving male member of the royal dynasty. Ten months later, after Harold III was killed at Hastings, and when Edgar was in his "fifteenth year", he was made King (Dr Ward (2020, p347, "Child Kings and the Norman Conquest").

A35. A male in his fifteenth year was deemed to have ended his "*masculine childhood…as well as marking the canonical age at which male adolescents could give their consent to marriage … indicating their entrance into marital, and sexual maturity*" (Ibid, Ward, E.J., PhD, 2009, p347).

A36. Thus, whilst considered throne worthy by blood in the time of Edward the Confessor's death on the 5th of January 1066, and from the 14th of October 1066 when Harold III (r. Jan-Oct 1066) was killed at the battle of Hastings, the Witan considered Edgar in his fifteenth year to be throne ready. After the Edward the Confessor died, Edgar the "Ætheling" or Edgar II (1052-1120), was the last male member of the last paternal male line descended from Cerdic.

A37. Dr Stephen Baxter (2009, p97) "describes "Ætheling" a term reserved only for male descendants in the male line from former kings of the West Saxon royal dynasty, who were eligible to be elected king (Baxter, S. PhD, 2009, p97, "Edward the Confessor and the Succession Question"; cf. Dumville, 1979, "the aethling", *passim* – i.e., scattered, per se, in 'The Etheling: A Study in Anglo Saxon Constitutional History', Anglo-Saxon England, 8, 1979, pp 1-33"; cf. William & Matin's 1992, p156; 1986, p156, definition of "Aetheling" for the period 1066-1086).

Edgar, as King Edgar (r. Oct -Dec 1066)

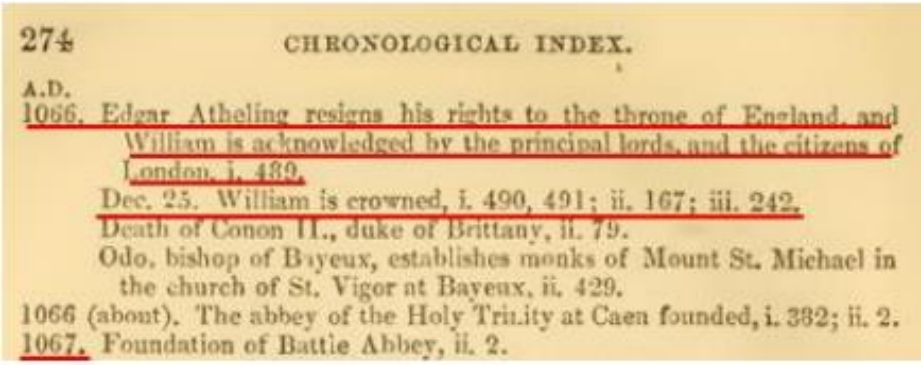
A38. In 1066, the single biggest event for Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120) was him being proclaimed king (Edgar Ætheling, Oct - Dec 1066, Royal Family, Official Website Online, Royal UK; refer also: Edgar Ætheling's position in the genealogical roll of the Kings of England, source: Royal Family Official Website, Royal UK and The British Library Board, Royal 14 B. VI membrane) in the winter of 1066 (Orderic Vitalis Chronological Index, Dec 1066 in tr by Thomas Forrester, M.A. 1856, p274,The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio [Song of the Battle of Hastings] of Guy, Bishop of Amiens; cf. "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle [ASC] – Worcester manuscript [D]):

> ***"Edgar the Ætheling was a grandson of Edmund II Ironside and a great-grandson of Ethelred 'The Unready'. After the death of Harold at the Battle of Hastings, the Witan elected Edgar, the last of the line of Cerdic, as King. Within a few weeks, however, he had to submit to William I. Edgar Ætheling's position in the genealogical roll of the Kings of England, The British Library Board, Royal 14 B. VI membrane".***

King Edgar's (r. Oct -Dec 1066), voluntary abdication

A39 Modern historian, Dr David Hefferman PhD 2023 research led him to determine that just prior to the 25th December 1066, King Edgar II (c1052-1125/6) reached agreement with William of Normandy that provided certain conditions were met, he would abdicate his rights to the throne of England, clearing the way for William of Normandy to be crowned King of England on the 25th December 1066 (Hefferman, D, PhD, 2023, William the Conqueror: The King of England, Video Transcript, Reference, 36:09 - 36:48).

A40. Orderic Vitalis's (1075-C 1142) was the first post-1066 historian to record Edgar the Ætheling's (c1052-1126) abdication, "A.D. 1066, Edgar the Ætheling resigns his rights to the throne of England and William is acknowledged by the principal lords, and the citizens of London, i. 489; Dec. 25, William is crowned, i. 490, 491; ii. 167; ii. 242" (Orderic Vitalis Chronological Index, A.D.1066, Dec-Dec 25 tr. by Thomas Forrester, M.A. 1856, p274):


274 CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX.

A.D.
1066. Edgar Atheling resigns his rights to the throne of England, and William is acknowledged by the principal lords, and the citizens of London, i. 489.
Dec. 25. William is crowned, i. 490, 491; ii. 167; iii. 242.
Death of Conon II., duke of Brittany, ii. 79.
Odo, bishop of Bayeux, establishes monks of Mount St. Michael in the church of St. Vigor at Bayeux, ii. 429.
1066 (about). The abbey of the Holy Trinity at Caen founded, i. 382; ii. 2.
1067. Foundation of Battle Abbey, ii. 2.

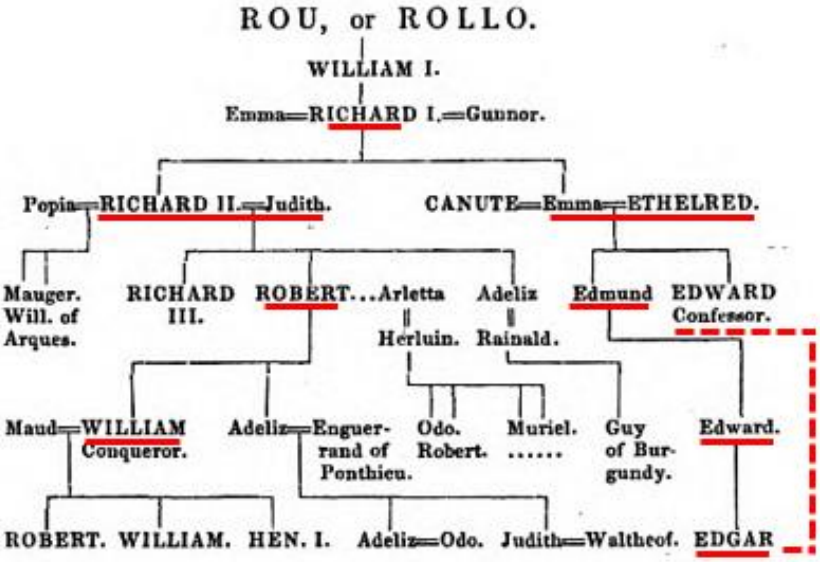
A41. This finding by Dr Hefferman (2023), is altogether consistent with Orderic Vitale's entry for Edgar resigning his rights to the throne with Orderic's next entry being the coronation of William of Normandy as William, King of England (Refer also paragraph A176-A177, p74 below).

A42. Edgar's [voluntary] resignation, or abdication, appears to be as close as one day before William I was crowned King of England on "Dec 25 [1066] William is crowned, i. 490, 491; ii. 167; iii. 242" and he was well received by William I according to William of Malmesbury (Malmesbury, W, 1120, "A History of the Norman Kings 1066–1125, with the Historia Novella or History of his Own Times 1126–1142, tr. John Sharpe (London 1854, p238) (Emphasis mine):

> ***"Edgar, therefore, was well received, and presented with a considerable largess: and remaining at court for many years,*** *silently sunk into contempt through his indolence, or more mildly speaking; his simplicity". Dr Sayers, in his Disquisitions, 8vo,1808, p296, upon the authority of the Spelman Manuscripts*

A43. Overleaf, a simple pedigree chart is submitted making explicit how Edar the Ætheling in his fifteenth year was related to William I, then aged about 33 years.

A44. The pedigree chart suggests perhaps the reason why Edgar II (r. Oct-Dec 1066) struck an agreement to voluntarily abdicate, resign his rights to the throne, was to clear the way forward for his relative William of Normandy (c1026-1087), his cousin by degree, to take the throne on the 25th December 1066, by agreement rather than force (Chart attributed to Master Wace, 1837, "Chronicle of the Norman Conquest" from the Roman de Rou" translated with notes and illustrations by Edgar Taylor Esq. F.S.A.).

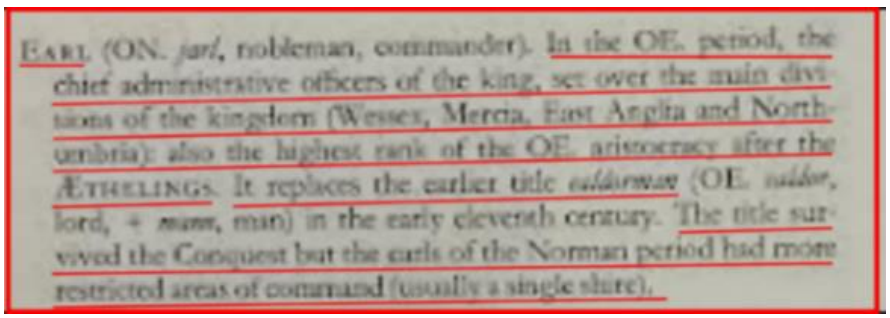



Edgar Ætheling within Domesday Book Series definitions, "Ætheling" and "Earl"

A45. Two important Domesday definitions for the period 1066-1086 produced by modern experts of Dr Ann Williams PhD & Dr Geoffrey Halward Martin (1986, p156) Domesday Book: Studies, published by Alecto Historical Editions are submitted below. They, are the terms "**Earl**" and "**Ætheling**" and considered by the Petitioner as most appropriately applied to subsequent evidence stepped out throughout the remainder of this supplemental petition:

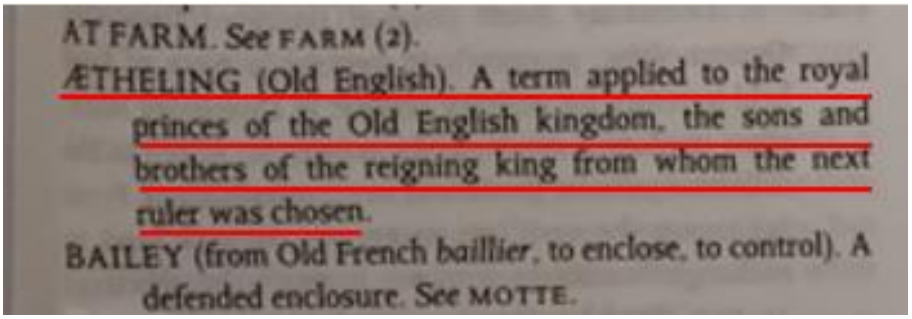
"**Earl**"

***Earl,*** *(ON. Jarl, nobleman, commander).* ***In the OE, period, the chief administrative officers of the king, see over the main divisions of the kingdom*** *(Wessex, Mercia, East Anglia and Northumbria):* ***also, the highest rank of the OE. aristocracy after the*** ÆTHELING***S***. ***It replaces the earlier title ealdorman*** *(OE. Earldor, lord + ????, man) in the early eleventh century.* ***The title survived the Conquest but the earls of the Norman period had more restricted areas of command (usually a single shire) [bold emphasis mine]:***


EARL (ON. *jarl*, nobleman, commander). In the OE. period, the chief administrative officers of the king, see over the main divisions of the kingdom (Wessex, Mercia, East Anglia and Northumbria); also the highest rank of the OE. aristocracy after the ÆTHELINGS. It replaces the earlier title *ealdorman* (OE. *ealdor*, lord, + *mann*, man) in the early eleventh century. The title survived the Conquest but the earls of the Norman period had more restricted areas of command (usually a single shire).

"***Ætheling***"

***Ætheling*** *(Old English).* ***A term applied to the royal princes of the Old English kingdom,*** *the sons and brothers of the reigning king from whom the next generation was chosen [**bold emphasis mine**].*


AT FARM. See FARM (2).
ÆTHELING (Old English). A term applied to the royal princes of the Old English kingdom, the sons and brothers of the reigning king from whom the next ruler was chosen.
BAILEY (from Old French *baillier*, to enclose, to control). A defended enclosure. See MOTTE.

A46. These two definitions are particularly relevant to help explain Edgar the Ætheling's exalted position as an Earl under William I given he was the last male of the paternal line descending from Cerdic, and died subsequently in 1120 without issue. Hence there is no competitor or distractor identity to confuse the definition of who the "Ætheling" is during the period 1066-1086, or for that matter, forever thereafter.

This page is intentionally left blank.

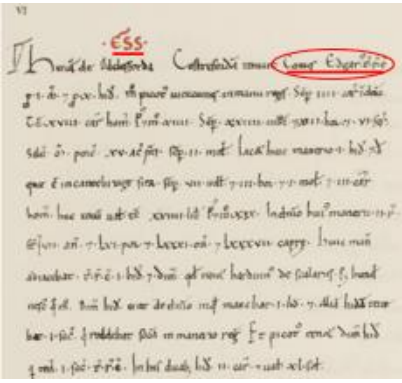
## Second set of evidence – Edgar Ætheling in Domesday (State Document)

Edgar, an Earl under William I

A47. Evidence immediately below includes facsimile of the Domesday record for "***Comes Edgar***" ("Earl Edgar") as witnessed by the circuit royal commissioner - State Document [ODM-L] "Essex folio 4, Great Chesterford, Essex 1, 9 – "Comes Edgar" (cf., Doubleday H.A, 1903, p337, p338, fn. 1; p430, "Victoria County History [V.C.H.] of Essex, Vol I") (cf. the Petitioner's comments at paragraph A21, page 19 in regards to error by authors of various ilk diminishing Earl Edgar "Comes Edgar" as the owner of Great Chesterford, Essex ascribing the owner incorrectly as Earl Ælfgar, died circa 1062).

A48 Whereas, it is important to make explicit, that since William I commenced his reign, once a peerage existed, the King's control over it, in a measure ended. The UK parliament was established in 1236 and since then a forfeiture of a peerage by attainment or special Act of Parliament, has occurred, but rarely occurred (Brader, C, 2022, UK Parliament, House of Lords Library, "In Focus, Peerages: Can they be Removed?). The earliest record of an Act of that kind seem to be that of 1 Edw. III. (1327) (Palmer, 19-7, p214). So rare in fact, no further explanation is necessary here, other than to say, prima facie, an Attainder or special Act of parliament, required by the Crown to extinguish a peerage, granted to Edgar simply does not exist. Other evidence recognises his peerage with a "fee simple" direction of his peerage after he died as Edgar Ætheling, "Earl of Oxford without issue "(cf. Milles, T. 1610, p 674). Suffice to say, this means that Edgar's personal dignity title must be considered on reason to be extant (Palmer, F.B.,1907, p187, 214-215; Gadd, R.P., 1985).

A49. The Domesday lot which is Essex folio 4, Great Chesterford, Uttlesford, Cambridge, Essex, shows Edgar Ætheling was written down by the relevant royal commissioner in Latin as "Comes Edgar". The record attests to him being the owner of the Manor Chesterford, Essex from 1066 until King William held it in 1086:



A50. Whereby Chesterford was a settlement in Domesday Book, in the hundreds of Uttlesford, mentioned in the chapters for Cambridgeshire and Essex. Essex, folio 4, the original folios of Domesday Book, a complete survey of England written in AD 1086, records the following for the land held by King William in 1086 (Source: Professor, John Palmer, 2002, University of Hull):

**Land of King William" Great Chesterford Essex, 1086**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Households:** | Households: 31 villagers. 16 smallholders. 6 slaves. |
| **Land and resources:** | Ploughland: 4 lord's plough teams. 17 men's plough teams. |
| **Other resources:** | Meadow 15 acres. Woodland 1000 pigs. 3 mills. |
| **Livestock:** | Livestock in 1086: 2 cobs. 7 cattle. 61 pigs. 81 sheep. 87 goats. |
| **Valuation:** | Annual value to lord: 32 pounds in 1086; 30 pounds when acquired by the 1086 owner; 24 pounds in 1066. |
| **Owners:** | Tenant-in-chief in 1086: King William. |
| **Lord in 1086:** | **King William.** |
| **Lord in 1066:** | **Comes Edgar.** |
| **Other information:** | Phillimore reference: Essex 1, 9. |

Other authorities making from the same evidence, 1086 Domesday Book record, Edgar was Earl

A51. Dr Alexander R Rumble (1983, p193), Domesday Book, Essex (cf. the same, Seir, R 2016, p13, "Water Power in Essex - The River Granta or Cam), confirm the same, "Earl Edgar Ætheling held Great Chesterford, Essex from 1066 until Willim I held it evidenced by Domesday (ODM-L) in 1086 (cf. V.C.H. Vol I, Essex, p337, p430).

A52. Richard Seir (2016, p13) "Water Power in Essex - The River Granta or Cam" determined from his research tied to the Domesday record for "Comes Edgarus" translated into English:

***"In 1086 in Cestreforda (Gt. Chesterford), in the land of the King, held before by Earl Edgar; 24 villagers had always two mills and 7 villagers also had one mill".***

A53. Further corroborative or confirming evidence is available and now follows. Essex City Council (ECC) in their local government document dated 2016 publicly made readers aware that their research found "**Earl Edgar"** the Ætheling (1052-1120) was the holder of the Manor of Chesterford, Essex in 1066 and that he, Earl Edgar was the [great] nephew of King Edward the Confessor [Mine] (Gascoyne, A., 2016, p 9, Historic & Built Environment Manager Place Services Essex County Council County Hall Chelmsford Essex, Great and Little Chesterford Neighbourhood Plan: Historic Environmental Assessment, Essex County Council) [correction of the ECC's consanguinity between Edgar and Edward is mine]:

2.2.3 ***Saxon period***

The evidence for the Saxon period in Great Chesterford comes largely from burials. The main burial area found to date was located to the north-west of the Roman town, with smaller groupings to the south of the Roman town. In 1953-5 rescue excavation (Evison, 1994) recorded 161 inhumations, 33 cremations, two horse and two dog burials, spanning the period 450-600. It is estimated that at least a further 100 graves were lost during gravel-digging prior to 1953. The location of the Early Saxon settlement is uncertain, but the later Saxon settlement was probably on the same site as the medieval town. In 1066 Great Chesterford was held by Earl Edgar, King Edward the Confessor's nephew, while Little Chesterford was held by Queen Edith. The Royal estate was originally even larger, as Hadstock, Littlebury and Streetly Green were granted to Ely in the early eleventh century. It has been

9

suggested that the church at Great Chesterford had its origins as a minster church. There is no evidence that the Saxon settlement was urban in nature.

A54. Earlier, in 1996, Rippon, S (1996, p121, Essex c700-1066) presented the Essex City Council with a separate but similar account, confirming the blood tie between Earl Edgar [the Ætheling] holder of the Manor of Great Chesterford and King Edward the Confessor (refer also: Dr Alexander R Rumble, 1983, p193, Domesday Book, Essex; Rippon, S, 1996, p121; Essex c700-1066, Bedwin, O. ed., The Archaeology of Essex Proceedings of the Writtle Conference, pp 117-28, Essex County Council, 1996):

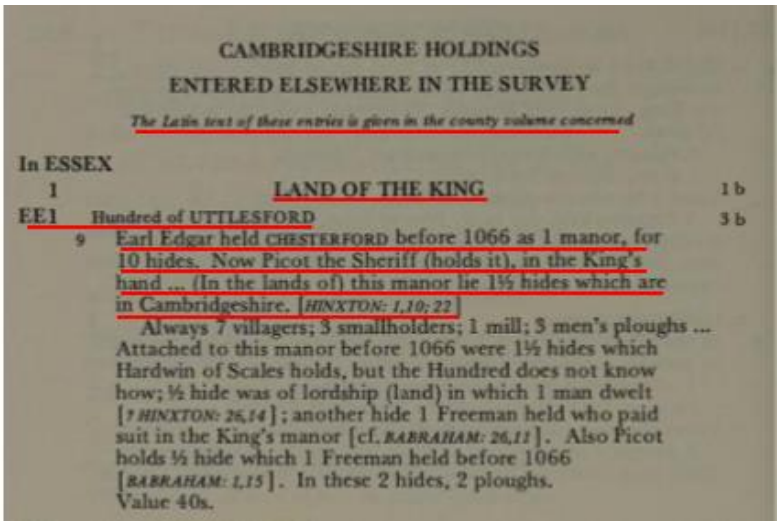
*Great Chesterford*

Great Chesterford was held in 1066 by Earl Edgar, king Edward's nephew, while Little Chesterford was held by Queen Edith. The Royal estate was formerly more extensive, as Hadstock, Littlebury and Streetly Green were granted to Ely in the early eleventh century (Bentham 1771, 81; Hart 1971, Nos. 36, 41). Once again, this Royal vill was adjacent to an important Roman site which saw continued use in some form during the Early Saxon period. Saxon grass-tempered pottery is recorded from within the walled area (Rodwell 1976b, 238-9) and the northern Roman cemetery contains pagan Saxon burials (Evison 1969). The parish church lies on the edge of the southern cemetery, and its cruciform plan once again suggests a Saxon minster church (Rodwell 1980, 120).

A55. Whereas it is known that after William of Normandy became King of England the Abbot of Ely, Thurston Abott VII remained a staunch supporter of Edgar Ætheling, whom he considered prior to William I's coronation as the rightful heir of the Crown after Harold (Bethany, J, 1771, p 101), "The History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely: From the Foundation of the Monastery, A.D. 673, to the year 1771".

A56. Bethany (1771, p108) explains from the records that when King Edward died; Thurston VII reconciled church lands, and by acceptation, and in the process of Thurston VII hearing from the un named "competent Englishmen"; and depending on what they declared and given testimony on oath kept their Demeane-land.

A57. Submitted below is an extract from Dr Alexander R Rumble's (1981, p193) "Domesday Book, Essex", recognising "Earl Edgar" was granted the honour of Chesterford, Uttlesford, Cambridge, Essex (William I held it in 1086):



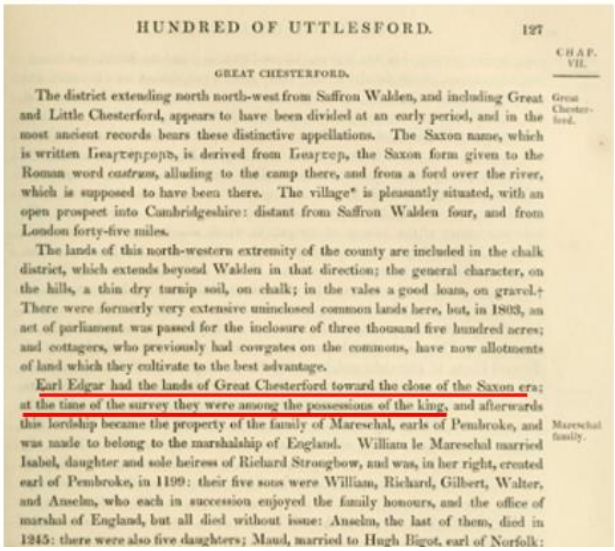
CAMBRIDGESHIRE HOLDINGS
ENTERED ELSEWHERE IN THE SURVEY

*The Latin text of these entries is given in the county volume concerned*

In ESSEX
1 LAND OF THE KING 1 b
EE1 Hundred of UTTLESFORD 3 b
9 Earl Edgar held CHESTERFORD before 1066 as 1 manor, for 10 hides. Now Picot the Sheriff (holds it), in the King's hand ... (In the lands of) this manor lie 1½ hides which are in Cambridgeshire. [*HINXTON: 1,10; 22*]
Always 7 villagers; 3 smallholders; 1 mill; 3 men's ploughs ... Attached to this manor before 1066 were 1½ hides which Hardwin of Scales holds, but the Hundred does not know how; ½ hide was of lordship (land) in which 1 man dwelt [*9 HINXTON: 26,14*]; another hide 1 Freeman held who paid suit in the King's manor [cf. *RABRAHAM: 26,11*]. Also Picot holds ½ hide which 1 Freeman held before 1066 [*RABRAHAM: 1,15*]. In these 2 hides, 2 ploughs. Value 40s.

A58. In 1836, Thomas Wright (1836, p127), M.A., B.A., completed his research publishing the book "History and Topography of the County of Essex". He determined, also from the primary Domesday evidence written down by royal commissioners in 1086 that "Earl Edgar," had the lands of Great Chesterford, County Essex, in 1066 and at the time of the survey in 1086 Earl Edgar's land was in the possession of William I:

***"Earl Edgar had the lands of Great Chesterford toward the close of the Saxon era, at the time of the survey [1086] they were in the possession of the King…" [mine]:***



HUNDRED OF UTTLESFORD. 127

CHAP. VII.

GREAT CHESTERFORD.

The district extending north north-west from Saffron Walden, and including Great and Little Chesterford, appears to have been divided at an early period, and in the most ancient records bears these distinctive appellations. The Saxon name, which is written Ceastrefordre, is derived from Ceastre, the Saxon form given to the Roman word *castrum*, alluding to the camp there, and from a ford over the river, which is supposed to have been there. The village* is pleasantly situated, with an open prospect into Cambridgeshire: distant from Saffron Walden four, and from London forty-five miles. Great Chesterford.

The lands of this north-western extremity of the county are included in the chalk district, which extends beyond Walden in that direction; the general character, on the hills, a thin dry turnip soil, on chalk; in the vales a good loam, on gravel.† There were formerly very extensive uninclosed common lands here, but, in 1803, an act of parliament was passed for the inclosure of three thousand five hundred acres; and cottagers, who previously had cowgates on the commons, have now allotments of land which they cultivate to the best advantage.

Earl Edgar had the lands of Great Chesterford toward the close of the Saxon era; at the time of the survey they were among the possessions of the king, and afterwards this lordship became the property of the family of Mareschal, earls of Pembroke, and was made to belong to the marshalship of England. William le Mareschal married Isabel, daughter and sole heiress of Richard Strongbow, and was, in her right, created earl of Pembroke, in 1199: their five sons were William, Richard, Gilbert, Walter, and Anselm, who each in succession enjoyed the family honours, and the office of marshal of England, but all died without issue: Anselm, the last of them, died in 1245: there were also five daughters; Maud, married to Hugh Bigot, earl of Norfolk: Mareschal family.

This page is intentionally left blank.

Victoria History of the County of Essex, confirmation that in 1086 ODM-L, Edgar was Earl

A59. As submitted previously, and in brief, the 1903 research published and edited by Victoria History of the County of Essex, Volume I (V.C.H., Essex, Vol I), was written by H. Arthur Doubleday and William Page. It is their pages 337, p338, fn.1, and with some explanatory detail on page 430, which follow, which makes certain they found from their research of Domesday, Edgar, the Ætheling was an and Earl under William I.

A60. Submitted first is their page 337 which helps to give context that Doubleday & Page (1903, p337) were able to positively identify "Earl Ælfgar" held Great Chesterford "Cambridgeshire", distinguishing him from "Earl Edgar of Domesday" owner of Great Chesterford, Essex from 1066, cf., p338, fn. 1, and page 430, respectively:

THE DOMESDAY SURVEY

find his chief manors were Writtle, Hatfield (Broadoak), Havering, Stanway, Lawford, Brightlingsea, Newport, Waltham (Holy Cross), Feering, (West) Thurrock, Witham and Benfleet. But to these must be added those which he bestowed on his great foundation at Waltham, none of which however was exceptionally valuable or large except Waltham itself, which, according to his charter of foundation, was included among them, but which was bestowed by William on the Norman Bishop of Durham. Feering and Ockendon, which had been held by Harold, are found at the time of Domesday in the hands of Westminster Abbey, but in the case of the latter the Survey tells us that the abbey had acquired it by exchange 'since the king crossed the sea.' This refers to a transaction by which King William regained the manor of Old Windsor, which his predecessor had bestowed on the abbey. A charter of the Conqueror in English addressed to the Bishop of London, to 'Swein' the sheriff of Essex, and to all his thegns in the county, announces that he has given to the abbey 'Feringe and Wokindone' in exchange for that manor.[1] This charter cannot be later than 1075 and, being in English, probably belongs to the early days of the reign. Except for these manors and for that of (West) Thurrock, which William bestowed on the Count of Eu, he kept almost the whole of Harold's lands for himself, including the great lordships I have named above. These formed thenceforth the bulk of his Essex demesne.[2]

Next in importance to these were the lands of Earl Ælfgar, of which he similarly kept the bulk in his own hands. Ælfgar, who had died in or about 1062, had added to his own earldom of Mercia that of East Anglia; but it is not easy to account for his possessions so far to the south as Essex, for it has not been supposed that this county was at any time under his sway. In any case the earl had held the manors of (Great) Chesterford, Shalford, Wethersfield, Felsted, Great Baddow and Gestingthorpe with a smaller one in Finchingfield. Improbable though it may seem, the Earl 'Edgar' of Domesday, who is entered as the former lord of (Great) Chesterford, was a magnate who had no existence. The entries found under Cambridgeshire which refer to this manor enable us to say positively that Earl Ælfgar was its lord.[3] It is worth noting that in Essex as in Bucks[4] lands which had belonged to Earl Ælfgar were bestowed, in the first instance, by William on his queen. This was certainly the case at Shalford and at Finchingfield, and probably also at Felsted, for Queen Matilda is recorded as joining with him in the gift of that manor, in the year 1082, to that noble *Abbaye aux Dames* so familiar in the present day to visitors to Caen.[5] It is probable therefore that Baddow also owed to the same circumstance its bestowal on that

[1] Cotton MS. Faust, A. III. fo. 113.

[2] In estimating the whole extent of Harold's estates in the county it is necessary to remember also those which were bestowed on Count Eustace, John son of Waleram, Robert son of Corbutio, and Ralf de Limesi.

[3] See p. 358, note 1 below. [4] i.e. the manors of Hambleden and Marlow.

[5] See my *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, p. 141. One may note also that Gilbert the priest claimed to hold his land at Middleton (near Gestingthorpe), which had belonged to '9 sokemen of Earl Ælfgar,' as 'of the Queen's gift' (p. 564 below).

1 337 43

A61. Important information found at the foot of page 338 is that **Earl Edgar held Great Chesterford** [Essex, mine, cf., Doubleday & Page, 1903, V.C.H, Essex Vol I, p 431]**:**

> ***"1 See p.431, note I below. It is the mention of Earl Ælfgar as the former holder in both these Cambridgeshire entries <u>that enables us to identify the ' Earl Edgar ' who held Great Chesterford".</u>***

Next, in Domesday to the king's lands are entered those belonging to bishops and religious houses. Of these, as will be seen on the Domesday map, the great bulk was in the hands of the Bishop of London or his canons. The head of his fief was Bishop Stortford (which thence derived its name) on the border of Hertfordshire and

[1] See p. 431, note 1 below. It is the mention of Earl Ælfgar as the former holder in both these Cambridgeshire entries that enables us to identify the 'Earl Edgar' who held Great Chesterford.

[2] See p. 430 below. [3] See p. 416, note 2 below.

[4] 'In Essse est una hida quæ juste ad hoc manerium pertinet' (f. 9). Compare pp. 351, 352.

338

A62. This takes us to page 431 which makes explicit Earl Edgar's land Great Chesterford, in Domesday was in County Essex (cf. 1086 ODM-L "Comes Edgar" Great Chesterford, Essex, folio 4):

> **"HUNDRET OF ODELESFORDA [UTTLESFORD]**
>
> **A History of Essex … CESTREFORDA [ (Great) Chesterford] was held by Earl Edgar (sic) 6 in the time of King Edward as i manor and as 10 hides".**
>
> **…**
>
> **"… 6 See ibid. p. 337 and p. 431, note 4, below".**

A HISTORY OF ESSEX

time of King Edward 4 free men with (*de*) 4 hides which rendered customary dues. Now n. 2

Robert son of Corbutio holds 3 hides[1] and Hugh de Montfort the fourth hide[2]; they have not paid the customary due since they had them. And moreover the same Robert (son of Corbutio) holds 4½ hides which used to be held by a free man as appurtenant to (*ad*) this manor in the time of King Edward.[3] There was also appurtenant (*attinebat*) 1 sokeman with (*de*) 30 acres who rendered the customary due; and now John son of Walcram holds (it). And this manor was worth 36 pounds in the time of King Edward; now 40; and Peter the sheriff receives from it 80 pounds rent (*de censu*) and 10 pounds fine (*gersuma*).[4] To this manor there belong 20 acres lying in LOCRETUNA [Loughton], which were held in the time of King Edward by Harold's reeve; now the king's reeve holds (them); and they are worth 40 pence.

HUNDRET OF DOMMAWA [DUNMOW]

In SCELDA [Shellow (Bowells)] (are) 3 sokemen with (*de*) 35 acres, and this is worth 3 shillings and 10 pence.

HUNDRET OF WITHRICTESHERRA [DENGIE]

In LEHENDUNA [Latchingdon] Alwin', a free man, held in the time of King Edward half a hide and 30 acres. Afterwards Tedric Painel seized (*seisivit*) it; and now the king has it. Then as now (*semper*) half a plough; and it is worth 15 shillings. Of the same estate (*terra*) 1 villein holds 30 acres as (*ad*) Estolleia [ ] and it is worth 5 shillings; and another villein 15 acres, and it is worth 3 shillings. And 3 men hold half a hide and 10 acres, and (there is) half a plough; it was then worth 8 shillings; now 5 shillings and 4 pence.

In LACENDUNA [Latchingdon] Lewin', a free man, (held) 30 acres in the time of King Edward. (There was) then half a plough; now none. It was then worth 8 shillings; now 5 (shillings) and 4 pence. In the same (place) there were 8 free men in the time of King Edward; now (there are) 4 with (*de*) 52 acres; (this) was then worth 8 shillings; now 4 shillings and 4 pence.

In ROENGES [(White) Roding] Golstan, a sokeman of King William, holds 1 hide and has never rendered service or customary due for it, and therefore he has given pledge (*idem dedit vadem*).[5] In this hide there is 1 plough on the demesne, and 1 bordar and 3 serfs. (There is) wood(land) for 10 swine (and) 10 acres of meadow. It was then worth 20 shillings; now 30.

n. 50

HUNDRET OF ODELESFORDA [UTTLESFORD]

CESTREFORDA [(Great) Chesterford] was held by Earl Edgar (sic)[6] in the time of King Edward as 1 manor and as 10 hides. Now Picot the sheriff[7] (has the custody of it) in the king's hand(s). Then as now (*semper*) 4 ploughs on the demesne. Then the men had 18 ploughs; afterwards and now 14. Then as now (*semper*) 24 villeins, and 13 bordars, and 6 serfs. (There is) wood(land) for 1,000 swine, (and) 15 acres of meadow. Then as now (*semper*) 2 mills. There belongs to (*jacet*) this manor 1½ hides in Cambridgeshire (*cantebrugesire*);[8] then as now (there were there) 7 villeins and 3 bordars, and a mill, and 3 ploughs belonging to the men. All this was worth then 24 pounds; afterwards and now 30. In the demesne of this manor are 2 rounceys (*runcini*), and 7 beasts (*animalia*), and 61 swine, and 81 sheep, and 87 goats. To this manor there belonged (*adjacebat*) in the time of King Edward 1½ hides which Hardwin 'de Scalariis' holds, but by what right (*quomodo*) the Hundred (court) knows not. The half hide was of the demesne, and on it dwelt one man; and the other (*sic*) hide was held by a sokeman who used to render his soke dues (*reddebat socam*) in the king's manor.[9]

[1] These would seem to be the 3 hides at Leyton (*Leistune*) which Domesday enters under the fief of Robert son of Corbutio (p. 546), explaining that they had been held by 8 sokemen who had rendered and who were still rendering (?) their customary dues to the king's manor of Havering (*Haveringe*).

[2] This was certainly one of the 3½ hides held by Hugh at Leyton, of which we read (p. 497) that this hide used to pay the customary due to Havering, but did so no longer.

[3] These 4½ hides were similarly at Leyton (see p. 546) and are entered as having been held by Harold.

[4] Consideration money for the lease.

[5] See Introduction, p. 412.

[6] See ibid. p. 337 and p. 431, note 4, below.

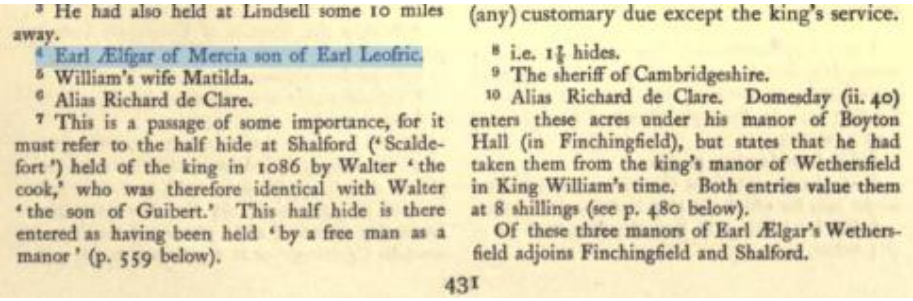
[7] Of Cambridgeshire.

[8] This must have been at Histon, Cambs, to the north of Cambridge. Domesday expressly states (f. 189b) that Picot had there 1½ hides 'of the manor of Chesterford,' which were taxed in their Cambridgeshire Hundred, but 'appraised in Essex.'

[9] These two holdings were probably the 'half hide' at Bakraham held under Hardwin by Durand, of which Domesday observes: 'Hoc terra est de feudo regis,' and the '1 hide' at Histon held of Hardwin by Durand (fo. 198), which had been held by Estrad 'under Earl Ælfgar.'

430

A63. Whereas, note 4, referred to by Doubleday & Page in 1903 on their page 430, simply makes for confirming on page 431, "**Earl /Ælfgar of Mercia son of Earl Leofric**":



[3] He had also held at Lindsell some 10 miles away.

[4] Earl Ælfgar of Mercia son of Earl Leofric.

[5] William's wife Matilda.

[6] Alias Richard de Clare.

[7] This is a passage of some importance, for it must refer to the half hide at Shalford ('Scaldefort') held of the king in 1086 by Walter 'the cook,' who was therefore identical with Walter 'the son of Guibert.' This half hide is there entered as having been held 'by a free man as a manor' (p. 559 below).

(any) customary due except the king's service.

[8] i.e. 1½ hides.

[9] The sheriff of Cambridgeshire.

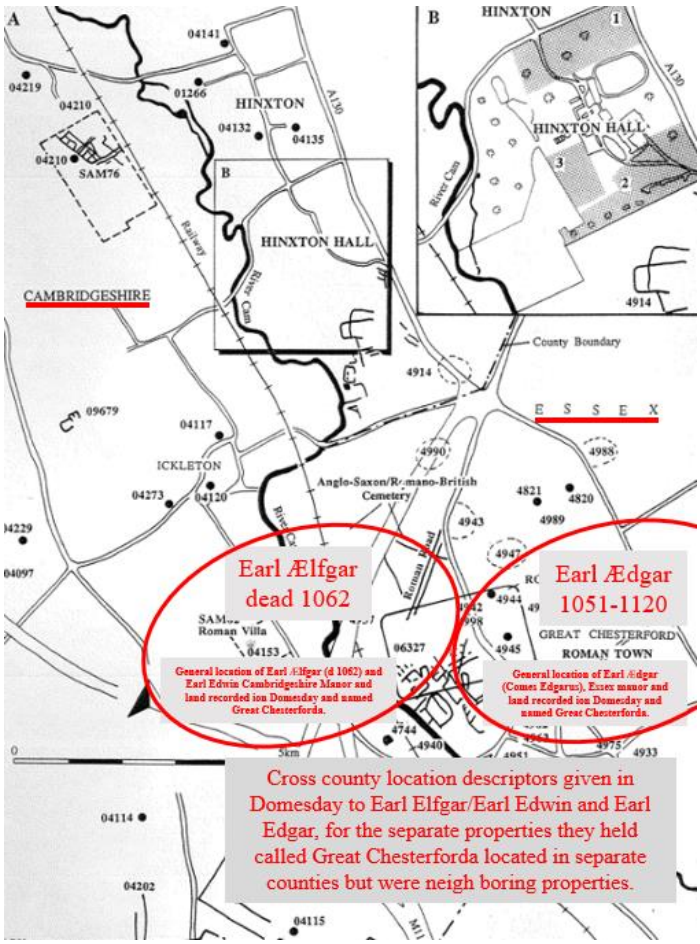
[10] Alias Richard de Clare. Domesday (ii. 40) enters these acres under his manor of Boyton Hall (in Finchingfield), but states that he had taken them from the king's manor of Wethersfield in King William's time. Both entries value them at 8 shillings (see p. 480 below).

Of these three manors of Earl Ælgar's Wethersfield adjoins Finchingfield and Shalford.

431

A64. A fresh study by Dr Jacqueline Harmon, PhD (2016, p129) further confirms Earl Edgar and Earl Ælfgar are entrants in Domesday who separately held lands called Chesterford, with Earl Edgar holding Great Chesterford, in Essex (10h) and Earl Ælfgar holding Great Chesterford in Cambridgeshire, 8½h ½v, with a further 15a crossing into Essex; and Earl Ælfgar was the antecessor of Picot of Cambridgeshire (Dr Jacqueline Harmon, PhD, 2016, p129, "Some Aspects of the History of Barnwell Priory: 1092-1300, A dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy University of East Anglia School of History September 2016).

A65. Marked on the map below is the general location of both land holdings named Great Chesterford one held in Cambridgeshire by *Ælfgar>Edwin> Picton,* in 1074, and the other held by "***Comes Edgar***" (Earl Edgar Ætheling) from 1066-1086, which came to King William as it appears just prior to the 1086 Domesday survey being written (cf., Original Domesday Manuscript, Great Chesterford, Essex, folio 4; Map image attributed to: Leith, S & Reynolds, T, 1993, p3, "Hinxton Hall: An Archaeological Desk Top Study, TL 496/448, Oxford Archaeological):



A66. Suffice to say, even at this early juncture in this supplemental petition, the case for Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120) an Earl under William I, is probably made, if one considers the research challenge made by Professor Tom Licence below (refer: Professor Licence's 12th September, 2024 Letter of Expert Opinion" Attachment I):

> ***"In my opinion, it is more likely that Edgar, having been an earl, would not show up in Domesday Book. If, however, he does, then the case is clinched regardless of the argument which I put forward".*** (Professor Licence, 2024, p2, Letter of expert opinion, 12th September refer Attachment 1, page 82").

**The Petitioner considers the 1086 original Domesday manuscript in Latin for "Comes Edgar" Great Chesterford, Essex, Essex folio 4, as direct evidence of Edgar the Atheling an Earl under William I. This is so, because the witness with the personal knowledge to identify Earl Edgar, was also the person who had the authority to make the entry in the Domesday Book 1086, in his own hand writing, and that is, the royal commissioner responsible for the circuit which included Essex.**

Other fresh evidence that Edgar was known an Earl by Domesday royal commissioners

A67. Dr C. L. Lewis (1991, p47, fn. 39) refers to the Domesday record Norf. LDB 259a-b Mundaham, in his expert determination that Edgar was a Lord holding land at Mundham, Norfolk in 1086 (Norf.: LDB 259a-b Mundaham):

***"Edgar was also Lord of freemen at Mundham".***

A68. PASE Domesday database for "Edgar 32" tied to Edgar Ætheling also citing Domesday record Norf.: LDB 259a-b Mundaham), confirms the that in fl. 1086:

***"11 free men of Edgar's hold 30 acres there".***

A69. The author of the same PASE Domesday narrative, simply identified as "DPW" further determines from their research, with referral to both Domesday record, Norf.: LDB 259a-b Mundaham, and Dr C. L. Lewis (1991, p47, fn. 39) expert analysis that:

***"… the king and the earl have the soke.'***

A70. Inferred in the scant passages above, that Edgar Ætheling was the Earl, when he had along with the king, the soke at Mundham, Norfolk.

A71. In context of "DWP" referral to Dr C. L. Lewis (1991, p47, fn. 39) above, and further in "DWP" discrete passage below also in PASE Domesday, the Petitioner considers PASE Domesday's aliases for Edgar Ætheling, Edgar 14, 30, 31 and 32, to be conceivably the same man "Earl Edgar" under William I (State Document [ODM-L] Essex folio 4, Great Chesterford, Essex 1, 9 – "Comes Edgar" ; cf., Doubleday H.A, 1903, p337, p338, fn. 1; p430, "Victoria County History [V.C.H.] of Essex, Vol I"; cf., Dr Alexander R Rumble, 1983, p193, Domesday Book, Essex; Rippon, S, 1996, p121; Essex c700-1066, Bedwin, O. ed., The Archaeology of Essex Proceedings of the Writtle Conference, pp 117-28, Essex County Council, 1996):

*The entry records that 30 acres held TRE by a free man were now held by one of Robert's subtenants, then notes that '11 free men of Edgar's' hold 30 acres there and concludes by noting that 'the king and the earl have the soke'. The name Edgar does not occur in connection with any other estate in Norfolk either TRE or in 1086. Numerous explanations are possible, but among the more likely is that Edgar 32 was or had been locally important enough to be the tenurial or commended lord of these men at some point prior to 1086.* ***It is conceivable that Edgar 32 is the same person as Edgar 31 and that both are to be associated with Edgar Ætheling (Edgar 14).***

DWP Edgar 14:

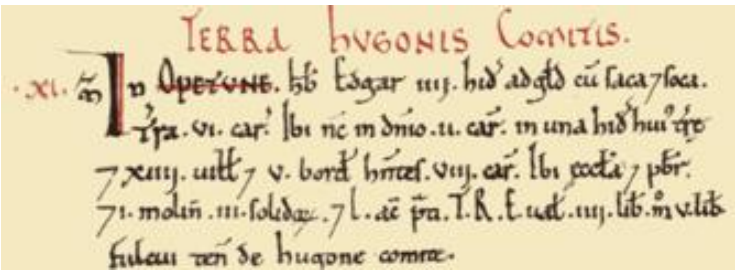
*… Edgar was a great-grandson of King Æthelred II and born probably* c. *1052 during his parents' exile in Hungary. The family returned to England in 1057 and, although his father died almost immediately, the young Edgar may have been considered as the heir of his great-uncle and now guardian, King Edward. Yet Edgar would have been only about fourteen during the events of 1066; after King Harold 3's death he was recognized as king in London and perhaps elsewhere, but a lack of widespread support found him among the bishops and earls who submitted to Duke William 1 at Berkhamsted in early December (ASC D* s.a. *1066; Cubbin 1996: 80-1).*

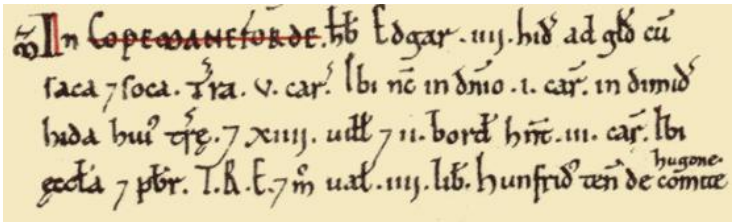
*… After a year at William's court in England or Normandy, initially if not always as a hostage, Edgar withdrew to Scotland with his mother and sisters. He was involved in some of the northern revolts against William but king and Ætheling were reconciled in 1074 and Edgar, now in his early twenties, seems to have retired to estates that William provided.*

This page is intentionally left blank.

Earl Edgar Ætheling's record for the Manor of Upton, Huntingdonshire 1066

A72. The University of Hull's, Open Domesday Online database refers to Edgar Ætheling "Prince" Edgar" without being styled "Earl" holding in 1066 the Manors of Upton in Huntingdonshire in 1066 (cf., State Document [ODM-L] Essex folio 4, Great Chesterford, Essex 1, 9 – "Comes Edgar") (cf. Page W., et al. 1936: A History of the County of Huntingdon: Volume 3, ed. W. Page, G. Proby and S. I. Ladds, London):





A73. Whereas, Dr Robin Fleming (1991, pp114-115) "Kings and Lords in Conquest England", points to the fact that Earls were not always given by Domesday's circuit royal commissioners, particularly in Huntingdonshire, compared to southern counties where overlords who were Earls were named as such:

***Page 154:***

*The Norman Conquest*

unrecorded in most parts of the survey, follow the model of these successions. This is, however, a dangerous assumption. A comprehensive examination of evidence provided by the Exchequer Domesday in the few counties for which information on Anglo-Saxon lordship is consistently recorded suggests that these examples represent only one type of succession, and not the most important one. Entire shires in Domesday Book rarely or never record pre-Conquest overlords. No Saxon overlords, for example, are recorded in Domesday's folios for Cheshire, Derbyshire, Huntingdonshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Somerset and Wiltshire[27] and a dozen or less are recorded in Devonshire, Dorset, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Surrey, Warwickshire and Yorkshire. And in southern counties such as Sussex, Cornwall and Berkshire, typically the only English overlords recorded are the king or his earls. This lacuna in the survey makes it dangerous to speculate on pre-Conquest lordships in these shires. Only Domesday Book's Circuit III provides consistent evidence for Anglo-Saxon lordship, particularly in Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Buckinghamshire. In these three counties especially, nearly every minor Anglo-Saxon tenant is given a lord. When we concentrate our efforts here where the evidence is most complete, we witness the breakdown of Saxon patterns of lordship on a grand scale.

In Hertfordshire, Archbishop Stigand had more men than any other great lord in the shire; his followers are recorded holding nearly forty-five hides of land in thirty-three different instances 'on the day King Edward was both alive and dead'.[29] About half the land of Stigand's men could be found in the fee of Odo Bishop of Bayeux after the Conquest,[30] but the remainder was partitioned between thirteen of the shire's other tenants-in-chief.[31] Thus, in Hertfordshire, the county's greatest lordship did not survive the Conquest. Since Stigand was an ecclesiastic of sorts, he is perhaps not representative. Ansgar the Staller, with his obvious successor

[27] DB, i, 262v–268r, 272r–278r, 203r–207v, 230r–237r, 280r–293r, 86r–99r.
[28] DB, i, 112v, 83r, 228r, 229r, 159r, 254r, 249r, 31v, 34r, 35v, 36r, 243v, 72v, 73r.
[29] DB, i, 132v–133r, 137r, 140v, 141v–142r. [30] DB, i, 134r–134v.
[31] These are King William, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Chester, Count Alan of Richmond, Eustace of Boulogne, Ralph de Limesy, Geoffrey de Bec, Hardwin de Scales, Edgar the Ætheling, Sigar de Chocques, and the wives of Richard fitz Gilbert and Hugh de Grandmesnil.

114

A74. Whereby Fleming (1991, p115) further notes Edgar the Ætheling in the county of Hertfordshire owning land there, but unlikely to have been referred to by the circuit royal commissioner in Domesday as an earl, despite being a tenant-in chief of the Manors of Barkway and Hormead in 1086 (cf., Edgar Adeling, Tenant-in-Chief, in 1086 OMD-L, Barkway and Hormead, Hertfordshire - Herefordshire folio 21):

***Page 155:***

*Domesday Book and the tenurial revolution*

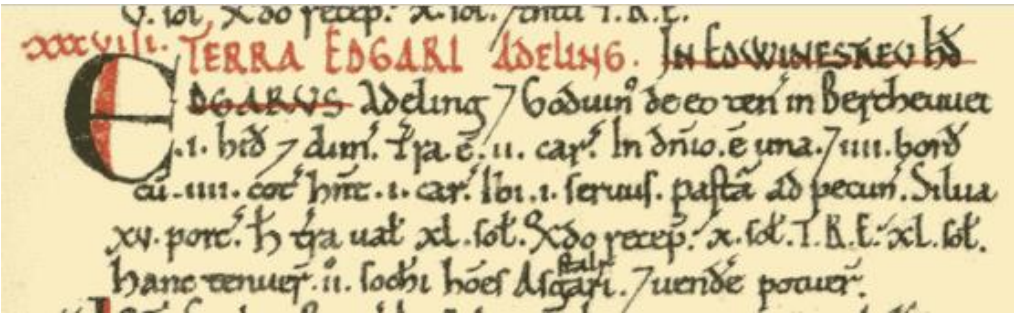
Geoffrey de Mandeville, may be a better example. As Sawyer points out, the bulk of the land of Ansgar's men in Essex was in the hands of his successor Geoffrey by 1086,[32] but in Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire, this is simply not the case. In Hertfordshire, Ansgar's men held almost forty hides of land. Less than half of these hides were in Geoffrey's hands by 1086 – the other twenty were in the fees of Maurice Bishop of London, Odo Bishop of Bayeux, Eustace of Boulogne, Robert Gernon, Ralph Baynard, Geoffrey de Bec, Edgar Ætheling, and a king's thegn named Alwine Doddason.[33] In Buckinghamshire fourteen hides once held by Ansgar's men were found in Geoffrey's fief,[34] but ten or so others were divided between Walter Giffard and Henry de Ferrers.[35] In these two counties, over half the land once held by Ansgar's men had been scattered by 1086 among eleven new lords. This same pattern (or lack thereof) can be discerned with the land of the men of Eadgifu the Fair, Count Alan of Richmond's antecessor. In Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire Alan kept firm control over nearly all the lands that had once pertained to Eadgifu's men.[36] In Buckinghamshire and in Suffolk, however, the count was less successful. In the former the lands of Eadgifu's men devolved on to the fees of Jocelyn the Breton, William fitz Ansculf, and Earl Hugh,[37] and in the latter Count Alan received the land of one of Eadgifu's men,[38] but the rest was incorporated into the *terra regis*, or alternatively into the fees of Hugh de Montfort or the Countess of Aûmale.[39] In Buckinghamshire, when we trace the disposition of the lands of Alric son of Goding and his men, we find that Walter Giffard's fee consisted both of Alric's demesne land and eleven and a half hides of land which had been held by Alric's men.[40] Nonetheless, almost fifteen other hides of men once pertaining to Alric's lordship were spread between the Count of Mortain, who had eight and a half of these

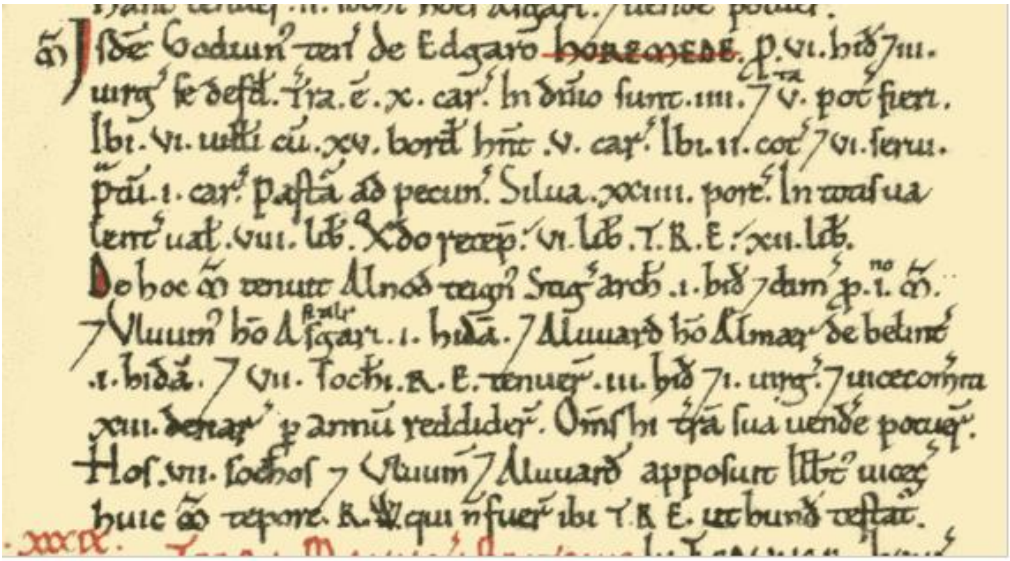
[32] Sawyer, 'Tenurial revolution?' pp. 73, 74; *VCH, Essex*, i, p. 343.
[33] DB, i, 133v–134v, 137r–138v, 139v–140r, 142r. [34] DB, i, 149r.
[35] DB, i, 147v, 148r, 151r.
[36] For Hertfordshire see DB, i, 136v–137r. The exceptions are 24 acres in Wallington which Gosbert de Beauvais held, probably illegally (the text is ambiguous on this point), and some land in Berkesdon, held illegally by Hardwin de Scales (DB, i, 140v, 141v). For Cambridgeshire see DB, i, 193v–195v. The exceptions appear on fols. 196v, 198r, 198v, 199v, 200r, 200v, 201r, 201v.
[37] DB, i, 152r, 148v, 146v. None of the land of Eadgifu's men was held by Count Alan in this county. [38] DB, ii, 295a. [39] DB, ii, 284b–285a, 410a, 431a.
[40] DB, i, 147r, 147v, 148r.

115

Earl Edgar Ætheling's record for the Manor of Barkway and Hormead Hertfordshire, 1086

A75. Nevertheless, Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120) is clearly identified as a "Tenant-in-Chief" for the land he held in 1086 strongly indicating he was an Earl. Whereby, Digby & Feinstein (1991, p2). Found the term "Tenants-in-Chief" in Domesday meant the land was held by the leading barons who held land from the king (i.e., prime Earls) (Edgar Adeling, Tenant-in-Chief, in 1086 OMD-L, Barkway and Hormead, Hertfordshire - Herefordshire folio 21):





A76. Further, if the Crown is inclined to accept the learned determination of Robert Kelham (1788, p345) Attorney of the King's Bench, Edgar the Ætheling was Earl of Oxford at the time he held the Manors of Barkway and Hormead, Hertfordshire in 1086 as per Domesday (cf. the same, for the retrospective application of the conclusion of Professor Tom Licence in his "Letter of Expert Opinion, 12th September 2024, Attachment I).

A77. Sir Henry Ellis (1777-1869), in his publication, Ellis H [Sir] (1833, pp409-410), General Introduction to the Domesday Book, reveals Edgar Ætheling acquired the Manors and lands of Barkway and Hormead as "Tenant in Capite" meaning he was granted them directly by the King., i.e. William I (Collins Dictionary, Mirriam-Webster Dictionary, Oxford Dictionary).

This page is intentionally left blank.

Probable real property held in trust for Earl Edgar at Oxfordshire and Warwickshire

A78. Holdings of Manors and Lands further found in ODM-L held by Edgar's sister Christina deserve some mention, given Professor Tom Licence's expert opinion on the matter he raised about the earldom of Earl Ralph up until 1057 holding territorial lands in Oxfordshire and it being vacant, so to speak from 1057 to 1066, so to speak.

A79. If the Crown takes into account the expert views of Walter Grey Birch (1887, p94) "Domesday Book," it is probable this land was held in trust for Edgar 'or in some other manner":

> ***As the total number of Saxons of high degree who are stated to have held land in the time of the survey and in the time of Edward the Confessor either of themselves, by the husbands, or in descent from the fathers, or in some other manner*** *is not very great, and probably falls far short of the very small number of five hundred. Among them are -Cristina, one of the sisters of Edgar Ætheling held land in Oxfordshire, and occurs twice as a tenant in capite in Warwickshire.*

A80. William Birch's (1887, p94) research observations are analogous to those of modern expert on the subject of Domesday Book, Dr Ann Williams, PhD (2007, p8, The Speaking Cross, the Persecuted Princess, and the Murdered Earl: The Early History of Romsey Abbey) (**Emphasis mine):**

> ***"Christina's lands … held of, or in conjunction with, her brother, for it was unusual at this time for a woman to hold land in her own right. Most of the female recorded in 'Domesday Book', before and after 1066, were widows administering their espousal estates… There is no suggestion Christina was ever married, and was probably living in the household of her brother Edgar".***

A81. PASE Domesday, author "SDB" attributed by the Petitioner to be Dr Stephen David Baxter PhD, constructed the following table to display succinctly the honor of land Christina held in Oxfordshire and Warwickshire between 1066-1086:

Tenant-in-Chief 1086 demesne estates (no subtenants)

| Shire | Phil. ref. | Vill | DB Spelling | Holder 1066 | Lord 1066 | Tenant-in-Chief 1086 | 1086 Subtenant |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oxfordshire | 54,1 | Broadwell | - | Ælfgar, earl | - | Christina | - |
| Warwickshire | 42,1 | Ulverley | - | Edwin, earl | - | Christina | - |
| Warwickshire | 42,2 | Arley | - | Edwin, earl | - | Christina | - |
| Warwickshire | 42,3 | Long Itchington | - | - | - | Christina | - |

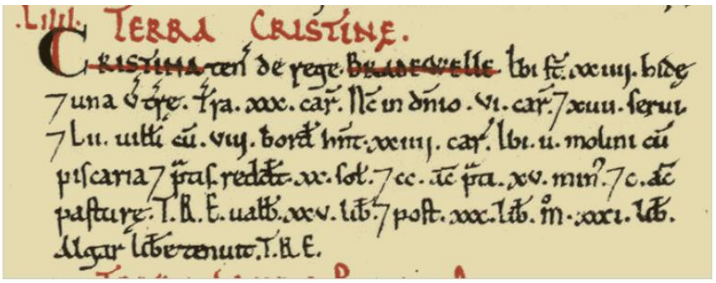
Subtenant in 1086

| Shire | Phil. ref. | Vill | DB Spelling | Holder 1066 | Lord 1066 | Tenant-in-Chief 1086 | 1086 Subtenant |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Warwickshire | B2 | Warwick | - | - | - | William, king | Christina |

A82. Submitted below are facsimiles of the Original Domesday Manuscript (ODM-L) written in 1086, in Latin, showing the honor of land Christina held, probably of, or in conjunction with, her brother Edgar, until at least 1086:

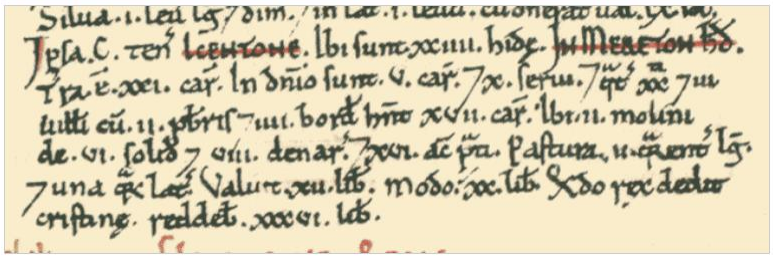
**Broadwell, Brampton, Oxfordshire**

1086 ODM-L: Oxfordshire folio 13; cf. Phillimore reference: Oxfordshire: 54, 1:



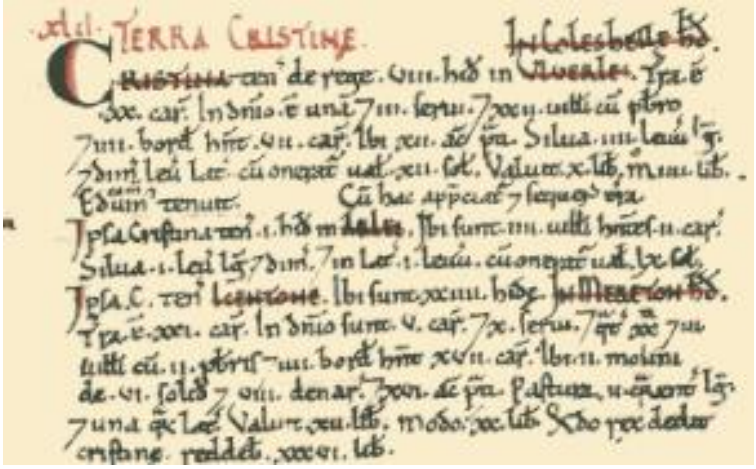
**Long Itchington, Marton, Warwickshire**

1086 ODM-L: Warwickshire folio 13; cf. Phillimore reference: Warwickshire 42, 3:



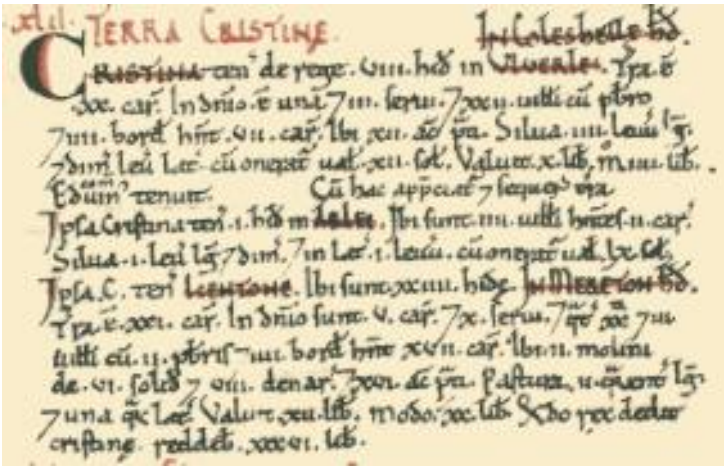
**Old Arley, Coleshill, Warwickshire**

1086 ODM-L: Warwickshire folio 13; cf. Phillimore reference: Warwickshire 42, 2”

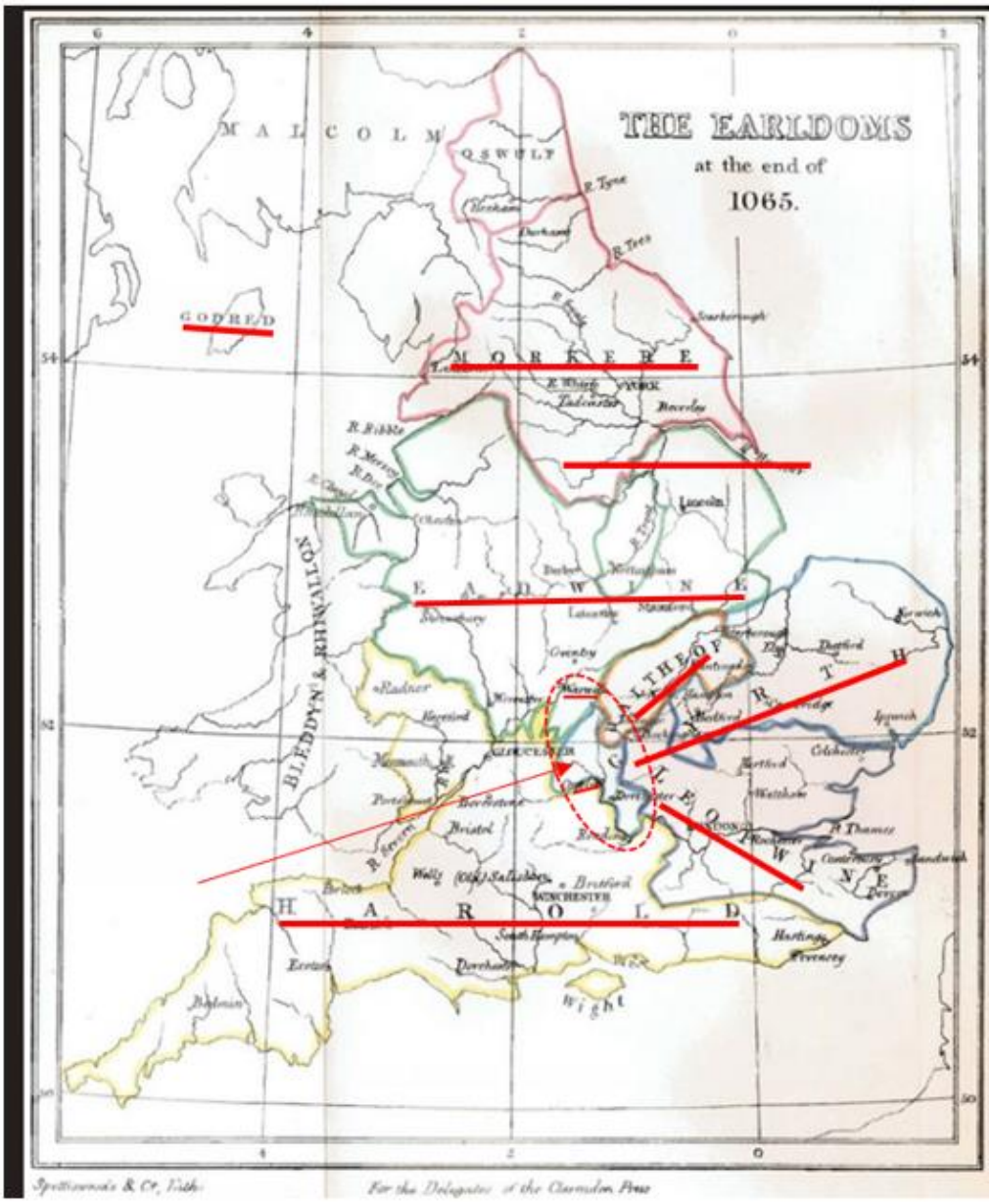


**Ulverley [Green], Coleshill, Warwickshire**

(1086 ODM-L: Warwickshire folio 13; cf. Phillimore reference: Warwickshire 42, 1:



A83. These properties held by Christina 1066-1086 fall within the circular boundary marked below which equates generally an earldom territory believed to held by Earl Ralph when he died in 1057:




A84. The suggestion is that Edward the Confessor may have begun plans to allocate this area to be the territorial earldom of Oxford pre-conquest, altogether separate in its Saxon jurisdiction and nature to the Earldom of Oxford, prima facie conferred on Edgar the Ætheling, December 1066/67 by William I.

A85. The weight of evidence leans towards Christina's Domesday Book lands being held by her from 1066-1086, for, or on behalf of her brother Earl of Oxford, Edgar the Ætheling, in his fourteenth year when King Edward the Confessor and Harold III both died in 1066, and held over under agreement with William I, to further be held in trust by Christina until released to Edgar, or to the King, at the King's pleasure.

This page is intentionally left blank.

## Third set of evidence – Listings of Edgar as Earl of Oxford by Other Authority

Edgar the Ætheling's (1052-1120) position in the royal court for the years, 1067 and 1068

A86. Having submitted evidence above that Edgar the Ætheling was Earl Edgar in the time of William I extracted from Domesday, the Petitioner offers the Crown fresh evidence of the same character submitted last year, but with greater detail than offered previously, and traced back to 1397 (cf., Gadd, R.P., 1985, pp 130-131, Peerage Law, referral to Thomas Milles "Catalogue of Honour" as an authority for the Peerage of England. Ronald P. Gadd is a Barrister, M.A., in Law at London University), Historian of Heraldry and Peerage).

A87. First, and according to Dr David Couch (2006, p100) in his book, "The Normans: The History of a Dynasty", Edgar the Ætheling in 1067 was among the first Earls appointed by William I. This is what Couch (2006, p100) wrote (cf. ASC-Worcester manuscript [D] Parts 1 & 2, Easter 1067 in Fecamp, Normandy):

> "… **first appointments of earls in 1067 … he brought with him to** [Fecamp] **Normandy** [Easter 1067] **… Edgar Ætheling, and Edwin and Morcar, and Waltheof (respectively the earls of Mercia, Northumbria and the east of midlands) …** *sic* [mine] (cf. Couch 2006, p98)**:**

100 THE NORMANS

– accepted the status quo that he had found there. This was nowhere better demonstrated than in his arrangements for England's government before he left. He began by issuing writs in the English language as well as in Latin; he retained Edward's chancellor; and his first appointments of earls in 1067 duplicated the regional arrangements of the reign of Edward. In place of Harold as earl of Wessex, King William placed his old and intimate friend, William fitz Osbern. The king placed a French former court official of Edward's, Ralph the Staller, and his own brother Bishop Odo in the earldoms formerly occupied by Harold's dead brothers, Gyrth and Leofwine, based respectively in East Anglia and Kent; but in the latter case Odo's authority, like Leofwine's, extended over most of the home counties. As far as the rest of the kingdom was concerned, the English earldoms of Mercia, the east midlands and Northumbria were left as he found them, for he was off to France.

William sailed home with a great company, including returning French soldiers, some now handsomely paid off with the contents of the royal and monastic treasuries of south-east England. There were other debts owing. The king brought with him many gifts for Norman and other French monasteries. To the pope he sent, by way of exchange for the banner sent him, the embroidered personal ensign of his fallen rival, Harold. He was not indifferent to the possibility of trouble in England in his absence: he brought with him to Normandy Archbishop Stigand, Edgar atheling, and Edwin, Morcar and Waltheof (respectively the earls of Mercia, Northumbria and the east midlands), 'so that during his absence' as William de Poitiers says, 'no revolt instigated by them might break out'. He also ordered that the commanders he had left behind should raise suitable castles in London and Winchester, to overawe the citizens: 'rich, untrustworthy and bold'. But, indifferent to the danger or not, William still had to be back in Normandy, for the complex politics of northern France could only be orchestrated by such a master as he knew himself to be. His people seem to have thought so too. Glad though they were to have their duke transformed into a king in great splendour, and to find him in a generous frame of mind, the fact that the duchy had for several months been denuded of troops and was surrounded by resentful neighbouring powers must have added further sincerity to a welcome which turned Lent 1067 into a high feast.

William stayed in Normandy till early December 1067. Though the

A88. Thomas Milles (1610, p54-55) "Catalogue of Honor", an English translation of his uncle, Robert Glover, Somerset Herald and Officer of the College of Arms, pre 1588 research, recognised almost 400 years prior, that Edgar Ætheling, was Earl of Oxford under William I in 1067 (Ibid, cf., Gadd, R.P. 1985, pp130-131, Peerage Law, citing Milles Catalogue as an authority of the Peerage of England):

**Page 54:**

"… ***the two Earles, Edwin and Edgar***…"

And page 55, Milles presents Edgar Ætheling simply as: "***Earle Edgar***":

54 WILLIAM

The Conqueror returneth into Normandie.

heare in this Land before taken, with some other of the chiefest of the English Nobilitie, such as he knew to beare the greatest sway with the people: amongst whom, the two great Earles, *Edwin* and *Morchar*, *Stigand* the Archbishop, *Edgar Ætheling*, *Waltheof* sonne to *Siward*, sometime Duke of *Northumberland*, and *Agelnothus* Abbat of *Glastonburie*, were the men of greatest note and marke. But he was no sooner gone, but

Edricke Sylvaticus rebelleth against the Conqueror.

that *Edricke* (surnamed *Sylvaticus*) a man of great spirit and command, who, aydedby the *Welchmen*, tooke vp Armes, and refusing to submit himselfe vnto the Conqueror, rebelled against such as he had left in his absence to gouerne the Realme; so that by the one part and the other (as in ciuill discord it euer falleth out) great spoyles happened in many places, but especially in *Herefordshire*: whereof king *William* hearing, and

The Conqueror returneth into England and dealeth hardly with the Englishmen.

hauing dispatched his greater affayres in *Normandie*, with all speed returned into *England*, and being iustly moued therevnto, began to beare an harder hand ouer the *Englishmen*, and vsed them with greater seueritie, hoping that he, by so keeping them vnder, might bring them into the greater awe and obedience.

From some of the Nobilitie and other of the better sort, he took away their lands and liuings, and gaue the same vnto his *Normans*: he also raised great and vnwonted Taxes and Subsidies throughout the Realme, to the great discontent of the Inhabitants in generall: insomuch, that many of the *English*, vweary of the *Norman* gouernment, chose rather to leaue all, aswel goods, Lands, and whatsoeuer else they enioyed, and with their Wiues and children (after the manner of Out-lawes) to liue in the

The Englishmen weary of the Norman gouernment withdrew themselues into the woodes as Outlawes.

Woods vpon the spoyle of others, and of the neighbouring Countries neere about, rather then to submit themselues vnto the thraldome thereof, as they accounted it: whereby it came to passe within a very short space, that no man could in safety trauaile from Towne to Towne, or from one house to another, being distant, but with great hazzard of being robbed or spoiled of that he had; yea, euery honest mans house became (as it were) an hold or fortresse, furnished with all maner of warlike weapons, as Bowes, arrowes, Bils, Polaxes, Swords, Clubs, Staues, &c. and the doores were kept fast locked and boulted, as if it had beene in time of Warre, and amongst publicke enemies.

The Conqueror for all that, sought in what he might to reforme these disorders, and withall to keepe the people vnder, but especially such of the Nobilitie, as made refusall to be vnder his command, and who again did all they might to gather strength among themselues, the better to resist him and withstand his proceedings, choosing for their chiefe Captaines and Leaders the two Earles, *Edwin*, and *Edgar Ætheling*, who with their complices, right valiantly resisted the *Normans* and slew many of the whom for all that, the *Conqueror* (being a most worthy and politick Prince, and right valiant withall) so repressed and kept vnder (although not without great losse of his people, and danger of his owne person) that hauing done what they coulde, they in

Diuers of the English Nobilitie glad to forsake the land.

the end were forced to voyd the Land, and to make shift euery man for himselfe, as he thought best. Amongst whom, the Earles, *Edwin* and *Morchar*, with some Bishops and others of the Clergie, and many of the temporaltie likewise, escaped into *Scotland*. *Marlcswin* and *Gospatricke*, with a number of others of the Nobility of *Northumberland*, with *Edgar Ætheling*, his Mother *Agatha*, and his Sisters *Christine* and *Margaret*, as they were sailing toward *Germany*, to haue returned into *Hungarie* (where the

Foure Castles built by the Conqueror.

saide *Edgar* was borne) were with force of tempest, and by contrary windes, driuen to *Scotland* also, where *Malcolme* the third then ther King, married *Margaret*, to the great comfort and strengthening of *Edgar*, and all his pertakers. This flight of the Nobility, with the discontentment of the people in generall, caused the *Conqueror* to feare some great reuolt of them from him, and some dangerous rebellion to be raised against him: which mischiefe to preuent, and likewise to keepe the people in awe, he built foure strong Castles, one at *Notingham*, another at *Lincolne*, the third at *Yorke*, and the fourth neere vnto *Hastinges*, where he landed at his first arriuall into England. And to be the more assured of his State against the power of the English, he caused all their Weapons and Armour to bee taken from them. Also to preuent nightly tumults, he tooke order, that euery Housholder about eight of the clocke in the

**1067/68**

*Continued …*

**Page 55:**

"… ***Edgar Ætheling … Earle Edgar***…"

THE CONQVEROVR. 55

the morning, should cause his fire to be raked vp, the lightes put out, and then goe to Bed. And to the end that the houre might be certainely knowne, he commanded that in all Cities, Townes, and Villages, where any Church was, there should a Bell be rung at the said houre; which Custome is in many places euen yet still vsed vnto this day, and is commonly called by the French word, *Couurefeu*, that is to say, *Rake vp the Fire*.

The Conqueror taketh from the Englishmen their Armes.

Al which his circumspectnesse for al that serued not to preuent his farther troubles, for by and by after, *Godwin* and *Edmund* (surnamed the great) the Sonnes of King *Harold* comming out of *Ireland*, and landing in *Somersetshire*, sought with *Adselin*, sometime Maister of their Fathers Horse, whom they slewe, with a great number of others: and so with a great booty taken out of *Cornwall*, *Dromshire*, and other places there abouts, returned into *Ireland* from whence they came. *Exeter* did also then rebell, as likewise did the Countrey of *Northumberland*: for the quietting whereof, the *Conqueror* appointed one *Robert Comin*, a right Noble Gentleman (but more valiant then circumspect) with a part of his Army, whilst hee with the other part went to subdue them of *Exeter*, though not both with equall fortune: for the Rebels at *Exeter*, with the comming of the *Conqueror* dismaide, without more adoe, submitted themselues vnto his mercy; the chiefe of whom hee most seuerely chastised. But *Robert* with the other part of the Army, going against the *Northumbers*, and lying in security at *Durham*, was in the night by the Rebels, together with all such as he brought with him, surprised & slain; of whom no moe but one escaped to bring newes thereof vnto the King: all which bloudy execution and massacre of his people (as hee was informed) *Edgar Etheling* with his Horsemen at the same time had furthered: with which newes he not a little moued, made haste towards them, & at last comming into *Northumberland*, easily vanquished the aforesaid Rebels; the chiefe Authors whereof he put to death, and of some others caused their heads to be chopped off, in punishment of their inconstancy and rebellion: and comming to *Yorke*, there punished such as of late had ayded Earle *Edgar*; and so hauing himselfe in person quieted the rebellione both in the West and in the North partes of the Kingdome, returned againe to London.

The Conqueror troubled with diuers rebellions.

In the meane time the English Fugitiues, before fled into *Denmarke*, hauing of long sollicited king *Swaine* with a great power to inuade England, for the recodery of his right vnto the Kingdome, discended vnto him from his Ancestours (as they pretended) had now so much preuailed with him, that hee sent his two Sonnes, *Harold* and *Canute* with them, with a fleete of two (or as some others report) three hundered Saile. Who arriuing in the mouth of *Humber*, and there landing their men, foorthwith marched towards *Yorke* with great cruelty, wasting and spoyling the Country as they went. Vnto whom shortly after, came also such other of the English Exiles, as were before fledde into *Scotland*, and joyned with them their forces also; so that in short time they were become exceeding strong. Of whose approch vnto the Citie, *Aldred* the Archbishoppe of *Yorke* hearing, for very griefe and anguish of mind died, to imagine the mysteries of his Country like to ensue. The *Normans* lying in Garrison in the Citty, hearing that they were come within two daies march of the enemy, set fire vpon the Subburbs of the Citty, because they should be no aide vnto thē, which fire became so great, and the flame thereof rose so hie, that it caught holde of the Citty also, whereof it burnt a great part, euen downe to the ground, together with the faire Cathedrall Church dedicated to Saint *Peter*, and a famous Library belonging to the same. By force whereof the *Normans* together with the Citizens, were constrained to get them out of the Citty, who meeting with the Enemy before they were aware that hee was neere vpon them, were so forced to come to a disordered battell, wherein they for a while right valiantly defended themselues, till that being oppressed with multitude, they were outcome, and three thousand of them slaine.

The Dans by the inducement of the English Fugitiues inuade the Land.

Yorke burnt.

The Normans and Englishmen by Dans slaine.

After this victory, the *Danes* with their Army marched foorth into *Northumberland*, and brought the whole Countrey into their subiection; insomuch, that all the North part of the Land was at their commaund. With which so happy a beginning the

The North part of England subdued by the Dans.

**1068**

A89. Dr William Francis Collier L.L.D (1881, p 48, History of the British Empire, Trinity College, Dublin), confirms that King William treated Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120) among his nearest friends; and part of his royal family and new court for the period 1066-1068.

A90. It is Macfarlane (1845, p56) who says the same and adds William I left Edgar the Earldom of Oxford (Macfarlane, C, 1845, p56, The Cabinet History of England, an Abridgment of the Chapters Entitled 'Civil and Military History" in the Pictorial History of England by G.L. Craik with a continuation to the Present Time, Volumes 1-2, Editor, George Lillie Craik, 1798-1866):

> ***"Edgar Ætheling was an inmate of the new court, and William, knowing he was cherished by many of the English on account of his descent, pretended to treat him with great respect, and left him the earldom of Oxford, which Harold had conferred on him when he ascended the throne in his stead".***

56 CABINET HISTORY OF ENGLAND. [A.D. 1066.

out continued, and it is not mentioned at what hour of the day or night the conflagration ended. The English, who had been at the abbey, ran to extinguish the fire,—the Normans, it is said, to plunder, and otherwise profit by the disorder; but it appears that some of the latter exerted themselves to stop the progress of the flames, and to put an end to a riot peculiarly unpalatable to their master, whose anxious wish was certainly, at that time, to conciliate the two nations.

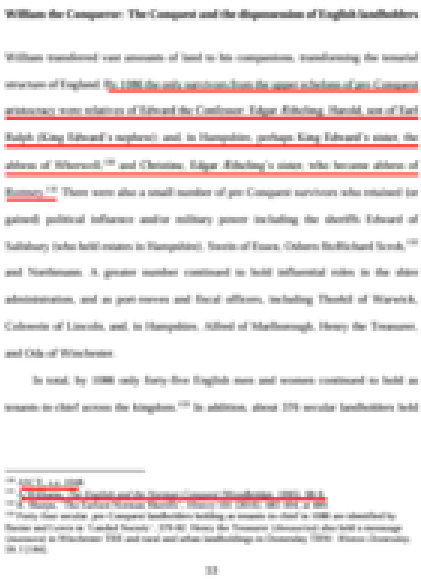
Soon after his coronation William withdrew from London to Barking, where he established a court which gradually attracted many of the nobles of the south of England. Edric, surnamed the Forester, Coxo, a warrior of high repute, and others, are named; and as William extended his authority, even the thanes and the great earls from the north, where the force of his arms was not yet felt, repaired to do him homage. In return for the homage thus rendered, William granted them the confirmation of their estates and honours which he had not at present the power to seize or invade. It appears that the Conqueror's first seizures and confiscations, after the crown lands, were the domains of Harold and his brothers Gurth and Leofwin, and the lands and property of such of the English chiefs as were either very weak, or unpopular, or indifferent to the nation.

Edgar Atheling was an inmate of the new court, and William, knowing he was cherished by many of the English on account of his descent, pretended to treat him with great respect, and left him the earldom of Oxford, which Harold had conferred on him when he ascended the throne in his stead. From Barking the new king made a progress through the territory, that was rather militarily occupied than securely conquered, displaying as he went as much royal pomp, and treating the English with as much courtesy and consideration, as he could. The extent of this territory cannot be exactly determined, but it appears the Conqueror had not yet advanced, in the north-east, beyond the confines of Norfolk, nor in the south-west beyond Dorsetshire. Both on the eastern and western coast, and in the midland counties,

A91 Dr Richard Huscroft (2016, p80) explains the structure in the King's court which accommodated Edgar's position (Huscroft, R, PhD, 2016, p80, Ruling England; cf. Lyon, Ann, 2016, pp 28-29, Constitutional History of the UK, 2nd ed.):

> ***"The king's household, the familia regis, was larger than any other household, and, as it had been under Edward the Confessor and Harold, it was the beating heart of royal authority and central government in England after 1066. Either directly or at a distance the royal household controlled every aspect of governance. It had no fixed form and there were no clear lines separating one part of the household from another; individuals could perform more than one role within it and there was considerable overlap between the different functions outlined here".***

A92. Dr Katherine Blayney (2019, p53) also makes clear from her research that **Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120), and his sister Christina, up until 1086, at least, maintained their place at the upper echelon of post-Conquest** (Blayney, K, 2019, p53, PhD Thesis, "The Tenurial Structure of Hampshire Before and After the Norman Conquest," St Peter's College University of Oxford):



*"... By 1086 the only survivors from the upper echelons of pre-Conquest aristocracy were relatives of Edward the Confessor: Edgar Ætheling; Harold, son of Earl Ralph (King Edward's nephew); and, in Hampshire, perhaps King Edward's sister, the abbess of Wherwell,* [130] *and Christine, Edgar Ætheling's sister, who became abbess of Romsey.* [131]

130 ASC E, s.a. 1048.

131 A. Williams, The English and the Norman Conquest (Woodbridge, 1995), 98-9.

A93. In full consideration of Dr Ann Williams and Dr Geoffrey Martin's (1986, p156) expert opinion, in the form of their definition of the "Earl" and "Ætheling" Earl Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120) was in an exalted position in William I's court.

This page is intentionally left blank.

Henry Knighton's 1396 "Knighton's Chronicle, 1337-1396"

A94. Long before Robert Glover (1544-1588) completed his research pre-1588, around 180 years prior, Henry Knighton (1396) completed his trustworthy research, "Nobilitas Politica vel Civilis". His original manuscript is understood to be held by the Royal Collection Trust (Referral by the State Library of Victoria).

A95. The Petitioner uncovered his original Latin manuscript printed for the first time in a book by Sir Roger Twysden in 1652 that Twyden called the "Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X," ("Scriptores X"). Henry Knighton's (1367) "Knighton's Chronical," was one of only ten manuscripts Twysden rated as the most trustworthy among the History of England up until 1652.

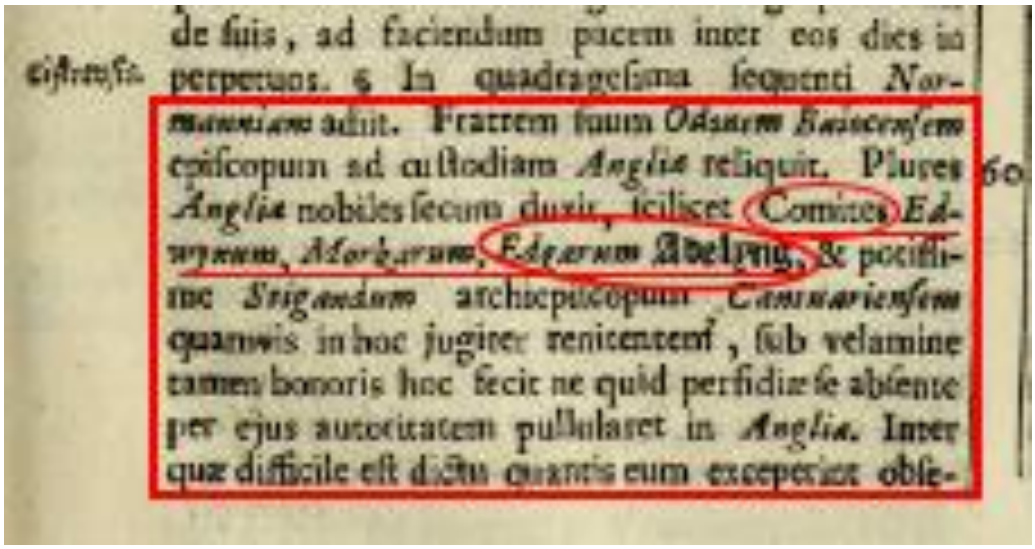
A96. Modern expert, the later Dr Geoffrey Halward Marin PhD (1928-2014), former Record Keeper of UK (1982-1988), and co-editor and contributor to his book with Dr Ann Williams, PhD (1986) "Domesday Book: Studies", Alecto Historical Editions, and also the author of Henry Knighton's original manuscript, also wrote in his preface about Knighton (Martin, G.H, (1995, p xxvii), that he, Henry Knighton's efforts in:

> *"... **enlarging the scope of, and with the aid of Higden, and the Abbey's copy Guisborough, making a rounded history of England since the Conquest, with as much about the pre-conquest England as would complement his account of Wiilliam I's ancestry".***

A97. Whilst Martin in 1995 found a few minor errors in Knighton's otherwise careful and exacting history of England since the conquest, he found no reason to qualify or correct the entry Knighton (1397, Col. 2343, William I) makes for William I's prime Earls in 1067, "***Comites Edwynum, Morkarum, Edgar Athelyng***" [sic].

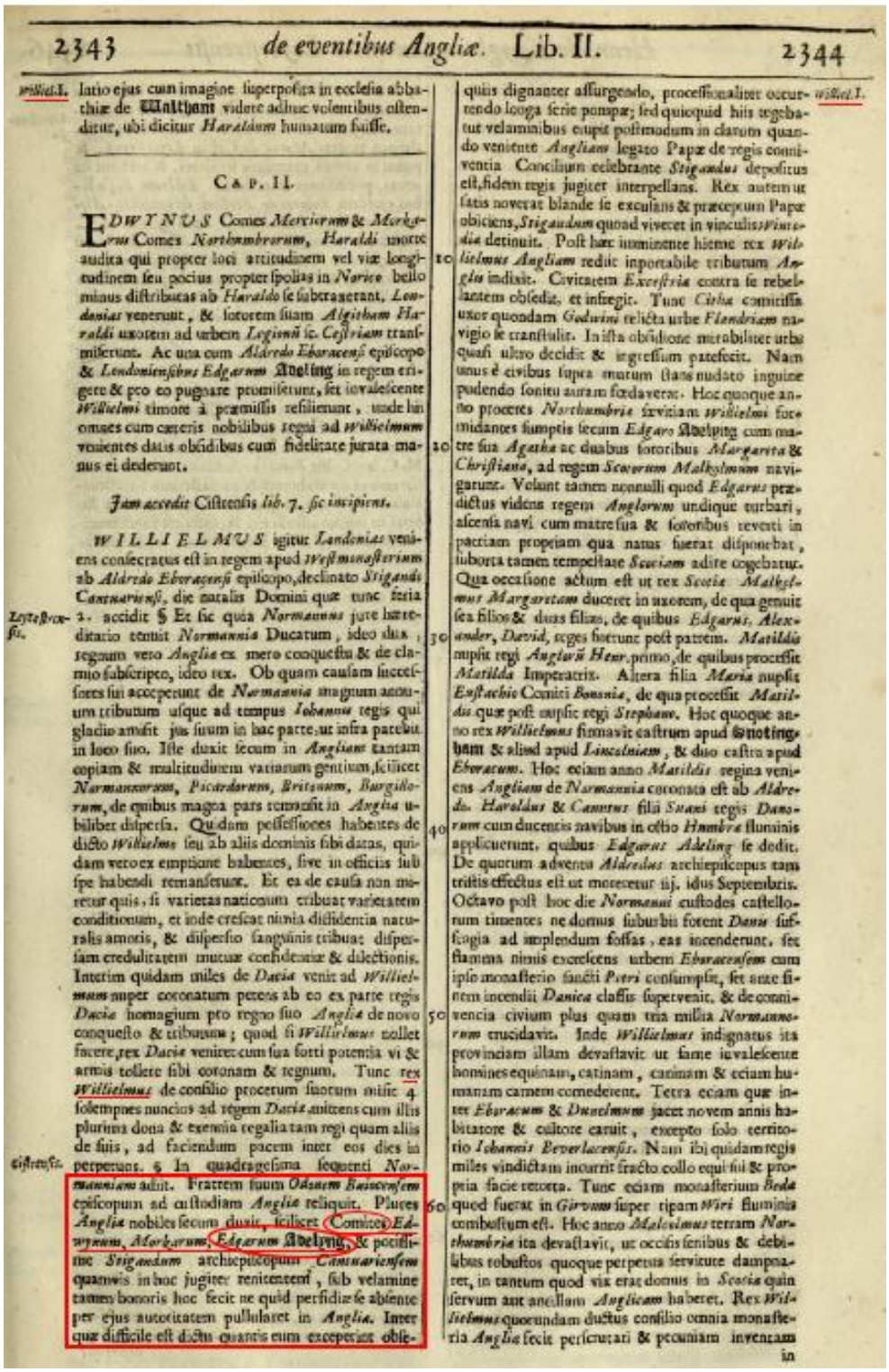
A98. Shown overleaf, is the entry Henry Knighton 1397, Column 2343, William I makes for three prime earls in William I's royal court when they made their visitation with William I Fecamp in Easter 1067, namely Earls, plural.

"**Comites, Edwynum, Morkarum, Edgarum Adelyng, …**" [respectively]
(cf. Dr David Couch, 2006, p100, the same,
refer paragraph, A33, page 20. above).


de suis, ad faciendum pacem inter eos dies in
perpetuos. & In quadragesima sequenti Nor-
mannias adiit. Fratrem suum Odonem Bayocensem
episcopum ad custodiam Anglie reliquit. Plures
Anglie nobiles secum duxit, scilicet Comites Ed-
wynum, Morkarum, Edgarum Adelyng, & pecilli-
me Stigandum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem
quamvis in hoc jugiter renitentem, sub velamine
tamen honoris hoc fecit ne quid perfidiæ se absente
per ejus auctoritatem pullularet in Anglia. Inter
quæ difficile est dictu quantis eum exceperint obse-

A99. Henry Knighton's 1396, full page in which Edgar was featured as one of three Earls is submitted below (enlargement required for reading the surrounding essay, suggest - view, zoom 200):

*"**Comites** Edwynum, Morkarum, **Edgarum Adelyng**"*
*(Knighton, H, 1396, Col. 2343,* Knighton Chronicle 1337-1396).



2343 *de eventibus Angliæ.* Lib. II. 2344

Willel. I. latio ejus cum imagine superposita in ecclesia abbatiæ de **Waltham** videre adhuc volentibus ostenditur, ubi dicitur *Haraldum* humatum fuisse.

CAP. II.

EDWYNUS Comes *Merciorum* & *Morkarum* Comes *Northumbrorum*, *Haraldi* morte audita qui propter loci attitudinem vel viæ longitudinem seu pocius propter spolias in *Norico* bello minus distributas ab *Haraldo* se subtraxerant, *Londonias* venerunt, & sororem suam *Algitham Haraldi* uxorem ad urbem *Legionũ* sc. *Cestriam* transmiserunt. Ac una cum *Aldredo Eboracensi* episcopo & *Londoniensibus Edgarum* **Adeling** in regem erigere & pro eo pugnare promiserunt, set invalescente *Willielmi* timore à promissis resiliunt, unde hi omnes cum cæteris nobilibus regni ad *willielmum* venientes datis obsidibus cum fidelitate jurata manus ei dederunt.

*Jam accedit* Cistercensis *lib. 7. sic incipiens.*

WILLIELMUS igitur *Londonias* veniens consecratus est in regem apud *Westmonasterium* ab *Aldredo Eboracensi* episcopo, declinato *Stigando Cantuariensi*, die natalis Domini quæ tunc feria 2. accidit § Et sic quia *Normannus* jure hæreditario tenuit *Normannia* Ducatum, ideo dux, regnum vero *Anglia* ex mero conquestu & de clamio subscripto, ideo rex. Ob quam causam successores sui accepterunt de *Normannia* magnum annuum tributum usque ad tempus *Iohannis* regis qui gladio amisit jus suum in hac parte, ut infra patebit in loco suo. Iste duxit secum in *Angliam* tantam copiam & multitudinem variarum gentium, scilicet *Normannorum*, *Picardorum*, *Britonum*, *Burgilorum*, de quibus magna pars remansit in *Anglia* ubiliber dispersa. Quidam possessiones habentes de dicto *Willielmo* seu ab aliis dominis sibi datas, quidam vero ex emptione habentes, sive in officiis sub spe habendi remanserunt. Et ea de causa non miretur quis, si varietas nationum tribuat varietatem conditionum, et inde crescat nimia diffidentia naturalis amoris, & dispersio sanguinis tribuat dispersam credulitatem mutuæ confidentiæ & dilectionis. Interim quidam miles de *Dacia* venit ad *Willielmum* super coronatum petens ab eo ex parte regis *Dacia* homagium pro regno suo *Anglia* de novo conquesto & tributum; quod si *Willielmus* nollet facere, rex *Dacie* veniret cum sua forti potentia vi & armis tollere sibi coronam & regnum. Tunc rex *Willielmus* de consilio procerum suorum misit 4 solempnes nuncios ad regem *Dacie* mittens cum illis plurima dona & exenia regalia tam regi quam aliis de suis, ad faciendum pacem inter eos dies in perpetuum. § In quadragesima sequenti *Normanniam* adiit. Fratrem suum *Odonem Bayocensem* episcopum ad custodiam *Anglie* reliquit. Plures *Anglie* nobiles secum duxit, scilicet Comites *Edwynum*, *Morkarum*, *Edgarum* **Adelyng**, & pocissime *Stigandum* archiepiscopum *Cantuariensem* quamvis in hoc jugiter renitentem, sub velamine tamen honoris hoc fecit ne quid perfidiæ se absente per ejus autoritatem pullularet in *Anglia*. Inter quæ difficile est dictu quantis eum exceperint obsequiis dignanter assurgendo, processionaliter occurrendo longa serie pompæ; sed quicquid hiis tegebatur velaminibus cœpit postmodum in clarum quando venientes *Angliam* legato Papæ de regis conniventia Concilium celebrante *Stigando* depositus est, fidem regis jugiter interpellans. Rex autem ut satis noverat blande se excusans & præceptum Papæ obiciens, *Stigandum* quoad viveret in vinculis *Winesdia* detinuit. Post hæc imminente hieme rex *Willielmus Angliam* redit inportabile tributum *Anglis* indixit. Civitatem *Excestria* contra se rebellantem obsedit, et infregit. Tunc *Cithe* comitissa uxor quondam *Godwini* relicta urbe *Flandriam* navigio se transtulit. In ista obsidione mirabiliter urbs quasi ultro decidit & ingressum patefecit. Nam unus è civibus supra murum stans nudato inguine pudendo sonitu auram fœdaverat. Hoc quoque anno procres *Northumbrie* servitium *willielmi* formidantes sumptis secum *Edgaro* **Adelyng** cum matre sua *Agatha* ac duabus sororibus *Margarita* & *Christiana*, ad regem *Scotorum Malkolmum* navigarunt. Volunt tamen nonnulli quod *Edgarus* prædictus videns regem *Anglorum* undique turbari, ascensa navi cum matre sua & sororibus reversi in patriam propiam qua natus fuerat disponebat, sed orta tamen tempestate *Scociam* adire cogebatur. Qua occasione actum est ut rex *Scotie Malkolmus Margaretam* duceret in uxorem, de qua genuit sex filios & duas filias, de quibus *Edgarus*, *Alexander*, *David*, reges fuerunt post patrem. *Matildis* nupsit regi *Anglorũ Henr.* primo, de quibus processit *Matilda* Imperatrix. Altera filia *Maria* nupsit *Eustachio* Comiti *Bonnia*, de qua processit *Matildis* quæ post nupsit regi *Stephano*. Hoc quoque anno rex *Willielmus* firmavit castrum apud **Snotingham** & aliud apud *Lincolniam*, & duo castra apud *Eboracum*. Hoc eciam anno *Matildis* regina veniens *Angliam* de *Normannia* coronata est ab *Aldredo*. *Haroldus* & *Canutus* filii *Suani* regis *Danorum* cum ducentis navibus in ostio *Humbre* fluminis applicuerunt, quibus *Edgarus Adeling* se dedit. De quorum adventu *Aldredus* archiepiscopus tam tristis effectus est ut moreretur iij. idus Septembris. Octavo post hoc die *Normanni* custodes castellorum timentes ne domus suburbii forent *Danis* suffugia ad implendum fossas, eas incenderunt, set flamma nimis excrescens urbem *Eboracensem* cum ipso monasterio sancti *Petri* consumpsit, set ante finem incendii *Danica* classis supervenit, & de conniventia civium plus quam tria millia *Normannorum* trucidavit. Inde *Willielmus* indignatus ita provinciam illam devastavit ut fame invalescente homines equinam, catinam, caninam & eciam humanam carnem comederent. Terra eciam quæ inter *Eboracum* & *Dunelmum* jacet novem annis habitatore & cultore caruit, excepto solo territorio *Iohannis Beverlacensis*. Nam ibi quidam regis miles vindictam incurrit fracto collo equi sui & propria facie retorta. Tunc eciam monasterium *Bede* quod fuerat in *Girvum* super ripam *Wiri* fluminis combustum est. Hoc anno *Malcolmus* terram *Northumbrie* ita devastavit, ut occisis senibus & debilibus robustos quoque perpetua servitute dampnaret, in tantum quod vix erat domus in *Scotia* quin servum aut ancillam *Anglicam* haberet. Rex *Willielmus* quorundam ductus consilio omnia monasteria *Anglie* fecit perscrutari & pecuniam inventam in

A100. The Petitioner says, based on Henry Knighton's original research completed in 1397 (Col. 2343, William I) and reviewed by modern expert, the esteemed late Dr Geoffrey H. Martin, PhD, a former Record Keeper UK (1982-1988), Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120), was Earl in the reign of William.

A101. Suffice to say, Knighton's (1396, Column 2343, William I): "***Comites Edgarum Adelyng,*" *is*** practically the same as ***"Comes Edgar"*** (cf., State Document [ODM-L] Essex folio 4, Great Chesterford, Essex 1, 9).

Thomas Milles's (1610) "Catalogue of Honor" & Edgar Ætheling's Earl of Oxford, 1067

A102. Mark Noble (1804) "The History of the College of Arms", in his list of authorities for the research he produced, placed Thomas Milles's (1550-1626) Catalogue of Honor at the top of principal books he consulted for the peerage of England (ibid, cf. Gadd, R.P., 1985, pp 130-131):

HERALDRY, PEERAGES, BARONETAGES, &c.—Milles' Catalogue of Honor.—Brooke's, Vincent's, York's, Dugdale's, Collin's, Edmondson's, and other Peerages of England.—Douglas' and Crawford's Scotch Peerage.—English, Scotch and Irish Compendiums.—Collins' Proceeding respecting Baronies, and other titles of honor.—West upon Baronies.—Julian Barnes upon Heraldry.—The Boke of St. Albans.—Leigh's Accidents of Armorie.—Boswell's Book of Armorie.—Ferne's Blazon of Gentry.—Spelman's Aspilogia.—Morgan's Sphere of Gentry.—Favine's Theatre of Honor.—Gwillim's Heraldry.—Dugdale's ancient Usage in bearing of Arms.—Blome's Art of Heraldry.—Kent's Heraldic Grammar.—Warburton, Somerset's, Works.—Weaver's Funeral Monuments, in which is given his Catalogue of Heralds.—Ashmole and Anstis' Order of the Garter.—Anstis' Order of the Bath.—Mr. Dallaway's Inquiry into the Origin and Progress of the Science of Heraldry in England.

A103. The sagacious Thomas Milles (1550-1626) is identified in the DNB as a customs official and antiquary (Whyman, J. 2004, September 23. "Milles, Thomas c.1550-1626? Customs Official and Antiquary, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography). Whereby, Dr Hunter (2006, p13) informs the Petitioner about Thomas Milles most fascinating career and reputation as an Antiquarian:

> *"He was in public and foreign service with frequent visits to France and Scotland. In 1585, he was an agent for Walsingham between England and Scotland and in 1586 assisted in negotiations in Edinburgh for the treaty of Berwick, afterward "with powers to intercept foreign agents and correspondence, the government employ [ ed] him in unravelling the numerous plots of the period". **Milles appears to have been in a position to know what was going on.** In 1598, he found less clandestine employment as secretary to Lord Cobham, lord warden of the Cinque Ports and henceforth bore responsible positions such as bailiff and collector of customs, experience which led him later to "the writing of influential treatises relating to early mercantilist ideas, the political and economic dominance of London, regulated trading companies," customs farming, and heraldry. He stood against usury and trade monopoly. He stood for freedom of enterprise and the development of commerce. **The DNB entry refers to The Catalogue of Honor as "an important treatise in a burgeoning heraldic literature". The work had been started by Milles' uncle Robert Glover. Milles translated it from the Latin and carried it forward at his death. The volume is dedicated to Robert Cecil, Lord Treasurer of England, and to Lord Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton".***

A104. Whereby his uncle, Robert Glover (1544-1588) the original researcher of the 1608 work Milles published and then translated in his 1610 publication in English called the Catalogue of Honor was produced by Milles in honor of Robert, who, despite the passing of time, is still regarded as one of Britain's greatest herald and genealogist (Robert Glover in the Survey of London Monograph 16, College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street, London, 1963, published by British History Online, and attests to him being recognised as one of Britain's greatest heralds and genealogists).

## SOMERSET HERALD

**This title has been successively private, royal, at once private and extraordinary, and again royal.** In 1448–9 Somerset was herald of Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, but he must have been a royal officer in 1485, when he was the only herald to receive coronation liveries.

In 1525, when Henry Fitzroy was made Duke of Richmond and Somerset, the then Somerset herald was transferred to the duke's household and as such he must be counted a private officer, although he was appointed by the King and shared the heralds' fees as a herald extraordinary. On Fitzroy's death in 1536 the then incumbent returned to the Crown establishment, and since then Somerset has been one of the heralds in ordinary.

## 9. ROBERT GLOVER

**Glover**
Portcullis, pat. 23 March 1568.
Somerset, pat. 29, cr. 30 December 1570.
*Granted reversion of Norroy, p. s.* 3, *pat.* 9 *March* 1580.

B. 1544 at Ashford, Kent, s. of Thomas Glover of that place. Portcullis 1568; 9 March 1580, his father-in-law William Flower obtained a new patent of Norroy granting Glover the reversion to that place. This aroused criticism and Glover was moved to submit proofs that officers of arms were not always promoted according to seniority. However, Flower outlived him, for Glover d. in London on 10 April 1588, leaving his widow with five children; bur[d] in St Giles', Cripplegate (M.I.). His niece, Susan, married John Philipot, Somerset.

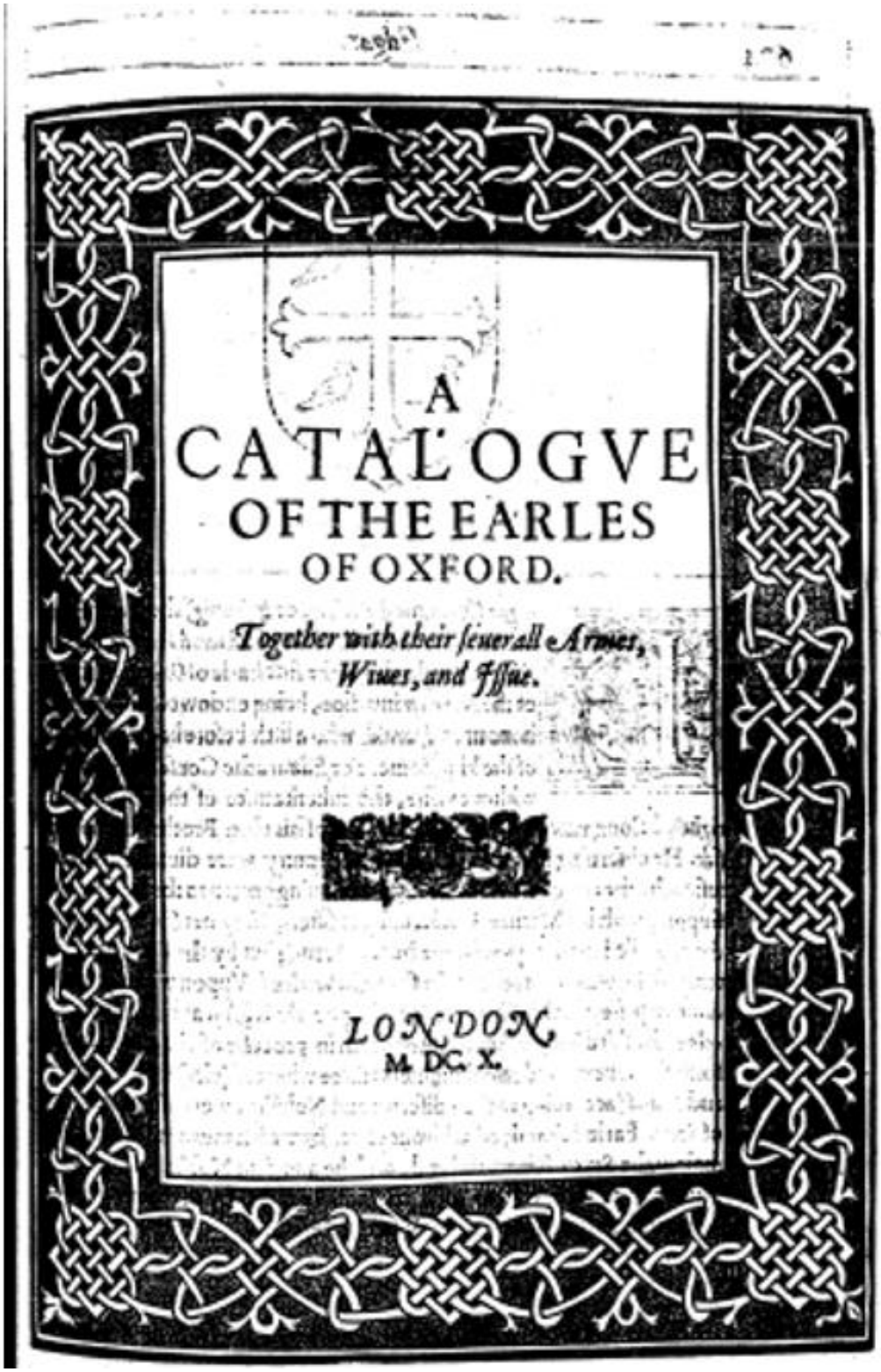
7 April 1570 Flower deputed him to visit in his province and between then and 1585 he visited, alone or with Flower, six or eight counties. Attached to Garter missions to Denmark 1582 and France 1584.

**Of great learning, eminent for professional skill and tireless in research. Even Round deemed him "entitled to honourable distinction among his Elizabethan brethren for the care and faithfulness of his work" (*Family Origins*, pp. 6, 7). His collection of manuscripts, largely his own work, was very great; many now in Philipot collection in college; others are dispersed in the British Museum, Bodleian, Queen's College, Oxford, Caius College, Cambridge, Trinity College, Dublin, and elsewhere. None of his works published in his lifetime, but his genealogies of the English peerage were partly printed in 1608 as *Nobilitas Politica vel Civilis*, and the whole, translated and edited by his nephew Thomas Milles of Davington, appeared in 1610; it is generally known as "Milles's Titles of Honour". "Glover's Ordinary", comprising some 15,000 coats, was compiled, written and tricked by him and is dated 1584. Several copies are extant, some augmented by John Withie, the herald-painter.**

**Besides being the outstanding heraldic scholar of his day Glover was one of the first to realize the value of early rolls of arms and no fewer than thirty were copied by him. It is therefore eminently fitting that the earliest known English roll of arms should have been given his name.**

(*D.N.B.*; Stow's *Survey* (1633), p. 314b; *Gent. Mag.*, xc, 1, 595; *R. & C.*, p. 12, etc.; Thomas Moule, *Bibliotheca Heraldica*; *C.E.M.R.A.*, xx, xxi, 3, 132–3, 143; etc.)
*Arms* confirmed and crest granted 4 March 1577: Sable, a chevron ermine between 3 crescents argent. *Crest*: A Mercury's hat sable turned up argent & winged sable.

A105. Milles (1610, pp 54-55, p674) set down in writing from Glover's exacting research that Edgar Adeling (also Etheling), the grandson of Edmund Ironside, the Saxon King of England, was the first Earl of Oxford listed in the peerage of England, in 1067; and that "**Earl Edar died without issue"** (cf. Dr R. Thomas Hunter, PhD, 2006, p6, "Shakespeare and the First Earl of Oxford," The Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter Vol. 42.1 Winter [2006]: 13-14, 26-28.; Dr Richard Desper, PhD 2006, p6, "Much Ado About Oxford" The Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter Vol. 42: No.3 Fall 2006: 3-4, 21-246) (Milles, 1610, p 673, cover of the Catalogue of the Earls of Oxford since William I's coronation):



A
CATALOGVE
OF THE EARLES
OF OXFORD.

*Together with their seuerall Armes, Wiues, and Issue.*

LONDON
M. DC. X.

A106. Milles (1610, p674) sets down in writing Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120), was Earl of Oxford, 1067 and confirmed he first held the namesake title under the old Saxon jurisdiction when Harold III first conferred it on Edgar. In the same passage Milles writes down Edgar Adeling, or Edeling, was the first Earl of Oxford, first creation, 1067. **The reader's attention is directed to see margin of page 674 to the left of the elaborate "E" as demonstrating that Milles is referring to the early post-Conquest creation in 1067".** Noting further for the reader's attention, that towards the end of the passage on page 674, he further demonstrates "**Earl Edgar died without issue**":

674 *Edgar.*

An. Dom. 1067.

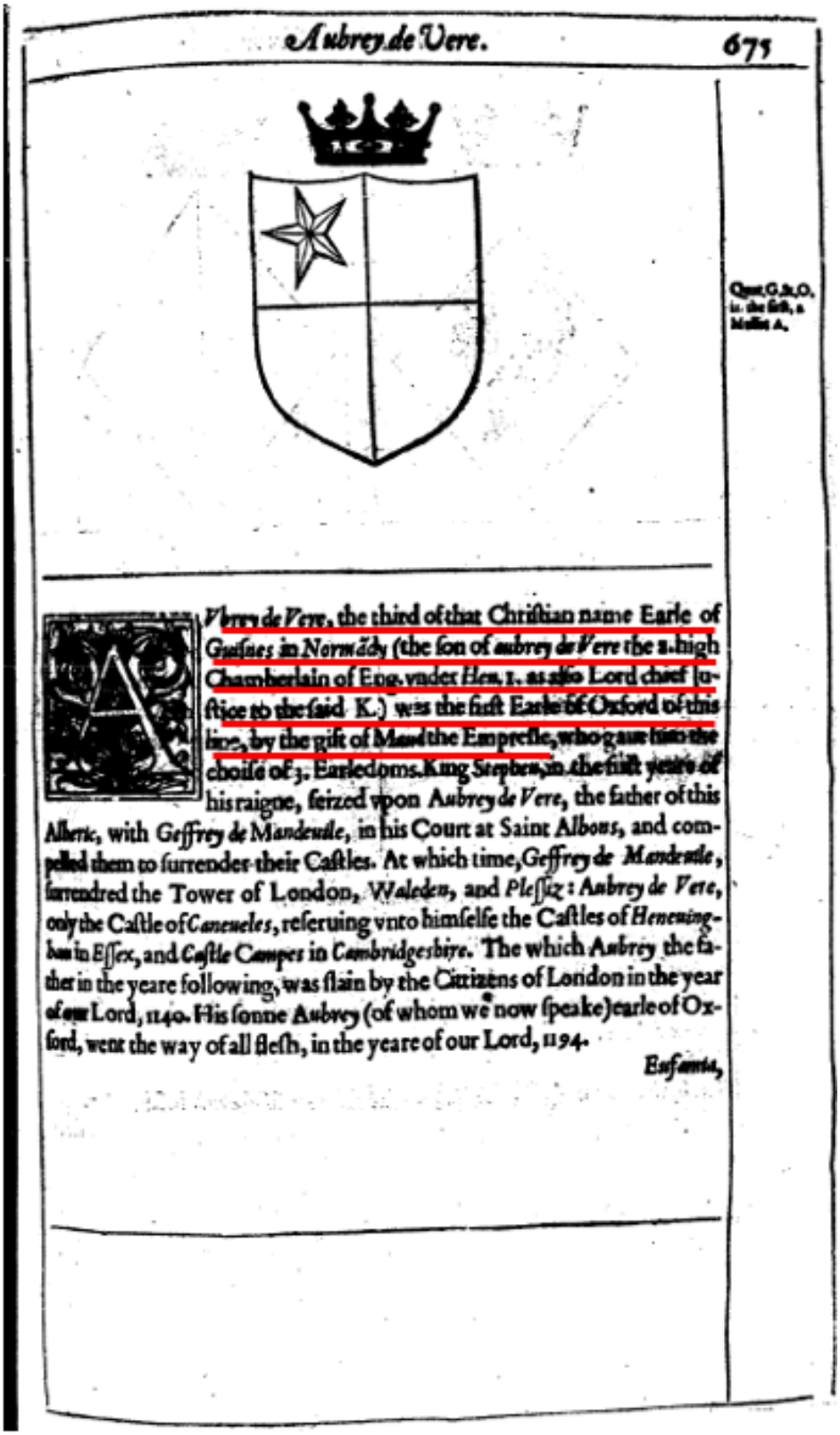
*Edgar* (surnamed *Adeling*, or *Etheling*) the son of *Edward* the *Outlaw*, and Grandchild of *Edmund Ironside* the King of *England*, was the first Earle of *Oxford*, at the of the *Norman* inuasion, being endowed with honour by *Harold*, who a little before had of the kingdome. For *Edward* the Confessor without yssue, the inheritance of the kingdome rightly belong vnto this *Edgar*, as Nephew of his elder Brother *Edmund Ironside*. He obseruing that the estates of his Country were diuided and in confusion, by the conquest of the Normans, hauing gotten to the sea side, shipping with his Mother *Agatha*, and his sisters, *Margaret* & *Christian*, according to saile into *Hungary*, where he was borne; but by the rising of a tempest, he was enforced to take shore in *Scotland*. Vppon which occasion came to passe, that his Sister (called *Margaret* the holy) was maried vnto *Malcolme*, the third King of Scots, vnto whom in processe of time shee brought forth fiue sonnes, and two daughters: three whereof (viz.) *Edgar*, *Alexander*, and *Dauid* (according to their descents and Nobility, were afterwards Kings of *Scots*. Earle *Edgar* dyed without yssue, by which meanes, the noble male of the *Saxon* Kinges did end, and the auncient Nobility of the English Princeps was ejected from their true inheritances, by the succeeding Normans, as lived vntill the times of *William Rufus*.

*Adeling*

A107. Whereby, Edgar's peerage, Earldom of Oxford, first creation, 1067, lay dormant, so to speak, since his death in 1120.

A108. Thomas Milles (1610, pp 674-675) distinguishes clearly between Edgar's first creation and the separate creation granted to Aubrey de Vere (1115-1194).

A109. The second creation altogether separate from Edgar the Ætheling's Earldom of Oxford, 1067, was gifted to Aubrey de Vere (1115-1194) by Maud the Empress (Empress Matilda):



*Aubrey de Vere.* 675

Quar. G. & O. in the first, a Mullet A.

*Vbrey de Vere*, the third of that Christian name Earle of *Guisnes in Normãdy* (the son of *aubrey de Vere* the 2. high Chamberlain of Eng. vnder *Hen.* 1. as also Lord chief Iustice to the said K.) was the first Earle of Oxford of this line, by the gift of Maud the Empresse, who gaue him the choise of 3. Earledoms. King Stephen, in the first yeare of his raigne, seized vpon *Aubrey de Vere*, the father of this Albric, with *Geffrey de Mandeuile*, in his Court at Saint *Albons*, and compelled them to surrender their Castles. At which time, *Geffrey de Mandeuile*, surrendred the Tower of London, *Walden*, and *Plessiz*: *Aubrey de Vere*, only the Castle of *Caneueles*, reseruing vnto himselfe the Castles of *Heneuingham* in *Essex*, and *Castle Campes* in *Cambridgeshire*. The which *Aubrey* the father in the yeare following, was slain by the Citizens of London in the year of our Lord, 1140. His sonne *Aubrey* (of whom we now speake) earle of Oxford, went the way of all flesh, in the yeare of our Lord, 1194.

*Eustatia*,

A110. Milles (1610, p674) also contributed material on the heraldry and customs of England. Below is his illustration of Edgar the Ætheling, Earl of Oxford, 1067 Coat of Arms which was later copied and included by Dr Heylin in 1641, in his publication, Help to the History of England:

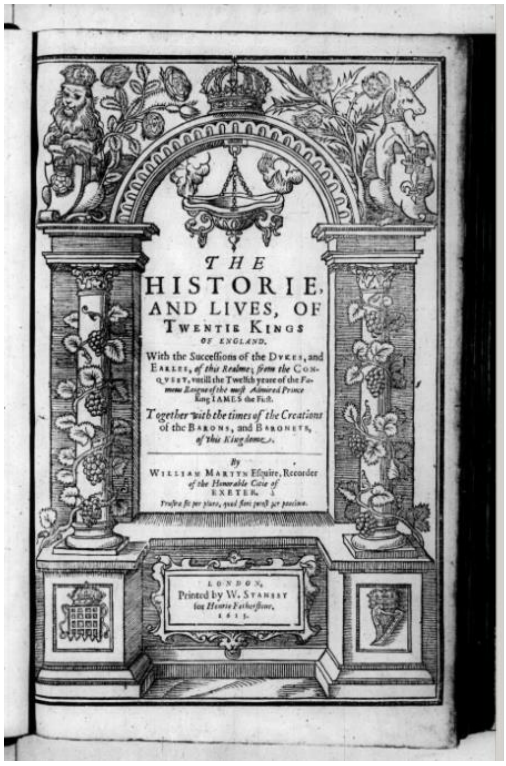
***"Azure a cross formy between four martlets or'***
*(cf., Dr Heylyn's 1709, p440 edition):*

Thoams Mille's (1610, p674)
Catalogue of Honor

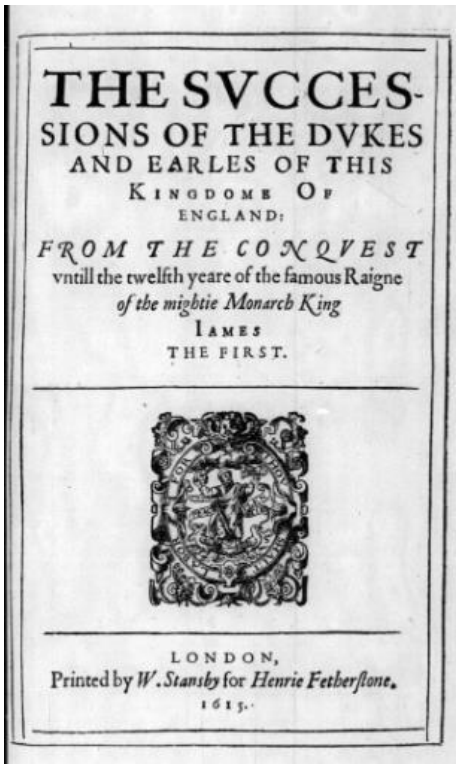
Dr Heylyn's 1709, p440 edition.
Thomas Moule (1804, p182) described the 1709 illustration as a "very rudely cut in wood."

William Martyn's 1615 "The Historie and Lives of Kings of England"

A111. William Martyn (1562-1617), English lawyer, researcher, historian and author, at the time he published his research "The Historie and Lives of Kings of England", draws on Thomas Milles/Rober Glover's valuable research and makes a fresh list of all earls since the time of William I, whereby he ranks them according to their dates of creation:

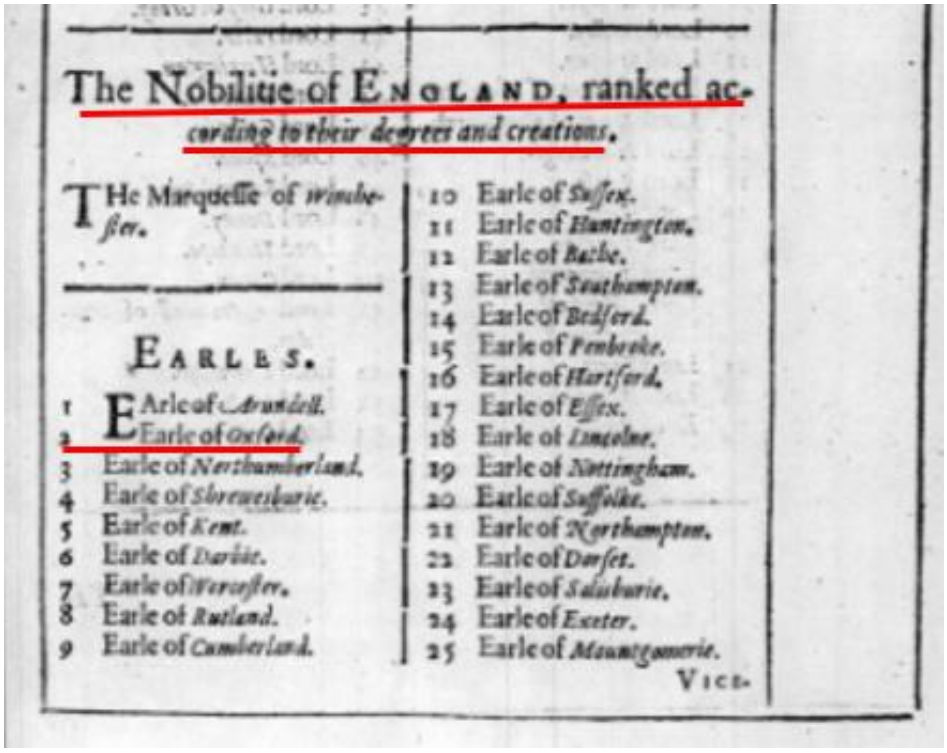


THE
HISTORIE,
AND LIVES, OF
TWENTIE KINGS
OF ENGLAND.
With the Successions of the DVKES, and EARLES, of this Realme; from the CONQVEST, vntill the Twelfth yeare of the famous Raigne of the most Admired Prince King IAMES the First.
Together with the times of the Creations of the BARONS, and BARONETS, of this Kingdome.
By
WILLIAM MARTYN Esquire, Recorder of the Honorable Cite of EXETER.
Vnsha fi per ylara, qual fini perdi ge pacino.
LONDON,
Printed by W. STANSBY
for Henrie Fetherstone,
1615.



THE SVCCES-
SIONS OF THE DVKES
AND EARLES OF THIS
KINGDOME OF
ENGLAND:
FROM THE CONQVEST
vntill the twelfth yeare of the famous Raigne
of the mightie Monarch King
IAMES
THE FIRST.
LONDON,
Printed by W. Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone.
1615.

A112. Submitted below is Martyn's (1615, p 467) list of the earliest Earls under King William I, ranked by date of creation, whereby, Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120) is listed second earliest of all creations:



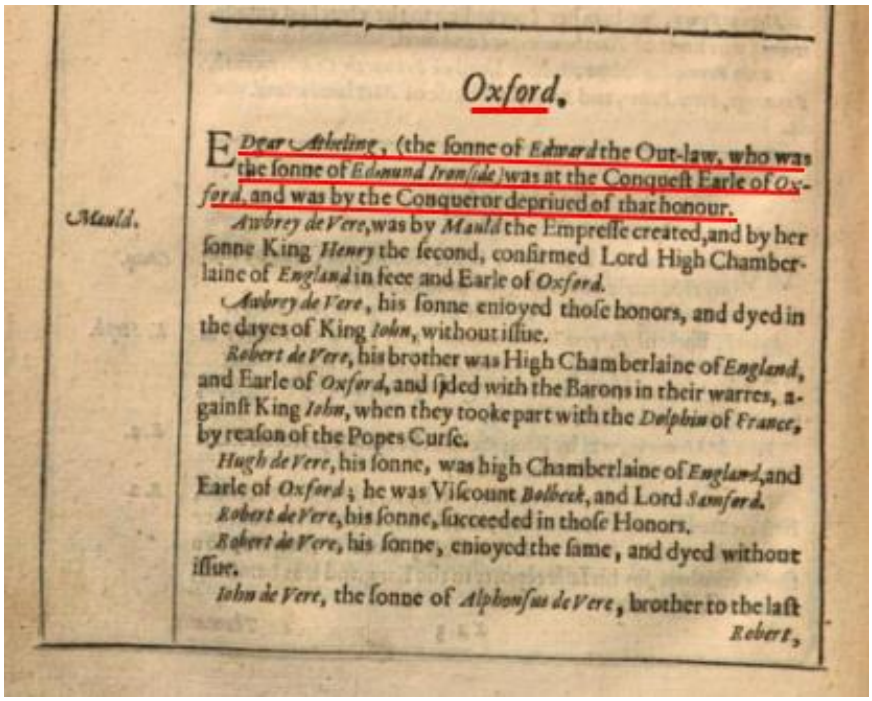
The Nobilitie of ENGLAND, ranked according to their degrees and creations.

THe Marquesse of Winchester.

EARLES.

1 Earle of Arundell.
2 Earle of Oxford.
3 Earle of Northumberland.
4 Earle of Shrewesbury.
5 Earle of Kent.
6 Earle of Darbie.
7 Earle of Worcester.
8 Earle of Rutland.
9 Earle of Cumberland.
10 Earle of Sussex.
11 Earle of Huntington.
12 Earle of Bathe.
13 Earle of Southampton.
14 Earle of Bedford.
15 Earle of Pembroke.
16 Earle of Hertford.
17 Earle of Essex.
18 Earle of Lincolne.
19 Earle of Nottingham.
20 Earle of Suffolke.
21 Earle of Northampton.
22 Earle of Dorset.
23 Earle of Salisburie.
24 Earle of Exeter.
25 Earle of Mountgomerie.
VICE-

A113. The following extract from the same publication is William Martyn (1615, p421) explanation of Edgar the Ætheling's Earldom of Oxford. He makes clear the title was altogether personal and deprived, separate, from the grant of "honour" of land in the territorial description Oxford:



## Oxford.

EDgar Atheling, (the sonne of *Edward* the Out-law, who was the sonne of *Edmund Ironside*) was at the Conqueft Earle of *Oxford*, and was by the Conqueror depriued of that honour.

*Mauld.* *Awbrey de Vere*, was by *Mauld* the Empreffe created, and by her sonne King *Henry* the second, confirmed Lord High Chamberlaine of *England* in feee and Earle of *Oxford*.

*Awbrey de Vere*, his sonne enioyed thofe honors, and dyed in the dayes of King *John*, without iffue.

*Robert de Vere*, his brother was High Chamberlaine of *England*, and Earle of *Oxford*, and fided with the Barons in their warres, against King *John*, when they tooke part with the *Dolphin* of *France*, by reason of the Popes Curfe.

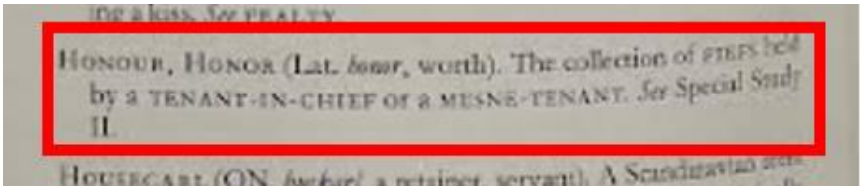
*Hugh de Vere*, his sonne, was high Chamberlaine of *England*, and Earle of *Oxford*; he was Vifcount *Bolbeck*, and Lord *Sanford*.

*Robert de Vere*, his sonne, fucceeded in thofe Honors.

*Robert de Vere*, his sonne, enioyed the same, and dyed without iffue.

*John de Vere*, the sonne of *Alphonsus de Vere*, brother to the laft *Robert*,

A114. This is an important distinguishing characteristic of Edgar's post conquest Earldom and given the expert definition of the "honour" of land as it applied to Domesday the Petitioner knows it means no honor of land in Oxford came to Edgar as part of his peerage which was altogether a personal dignity honor (William & Martyn's 2002, p 1432; 1992, p 156; 1986, p 156):



HONOUR, HONOR (Lat. *honor*, worth). The collection of FIEFS held by a TENANT-IN-CHIEF or a MESNE-TENANT. See Special Study II.

A115. Edgar the Ætheling, Earl of Oxford, 1067, was not denied honor of land elsewhere, such as the Manor and Lands of Barkway and Hormead Hertfordshire. This is consistent with the definition above and placed in further context Edgar was an Earl when he was further recognised in Domesday as "Tenant-in-Chief," a pseudonym for Earl (cf., Dr Anne Digby and Prof Charles Feinstein, 1991, p2, Domesday Book "Glossary" in Economic History Society [EHS], cf. Comes Edgar, ODM-L, Essex folio I, Great Chesterford, Essex). The other honor of land also though, were separately granted and not attached to his personal dignity title, Earl of Oxford created by William I.

A116. William Martyn's (1552-1617), biography researched and written by William Prideaux Courtney (1885, pp323-324) in Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900, Volume 36, "Martyn, William", is submitted below, and recognises amongst other qualification he was English Lawyer, Historian and Author.

Martyn 323 Martyn

1825, and was buried in the chancel of his church, where a marble slab was placed to his memory.

He married, 9 Dec. 1773, Martha Elliston, sister of Dr. William Elliston, master of Sidney Sussex College, who survived him, dying 27 Aug. 1829.

From 1760 to 1796 Martyn corresponded with Dr. Richard Pulteney [q. v.], though they did not meet until 1785 (cf. PULTENEY, *Progress of Botany*, ii. 352). Many of their letters are printed in Gorham's 'Life;' and other correspondence of Martyn's, given by him to Banks, is preserved in the botanical department of the British Museum. Martyn was elected F.R.S in 1786, and F.L.S. in 1788, and afterwards acted as vice-president of the latter society.

There is a folio engraving by Vendramini, after an oil-painting of him by Russel, in Thornton's 'Botany,' 1799; an octavo engraving of the same portrait by Holl; and an octavo engraving by J. Farn of a portrait by S. Drummond, dated 1798.

Martyn's chief works were: 1. 'Plantæ Cantabrigienses,' London, 1763, 8vo, the materials for a second edition of which he ultimately gave to Richard Relhan [q. v.] 2. 'The English Connoisseur; containing an Account of whatever is curious in Painting, Sculpture, &c., in the Palaces and Seats of the Nobility and principal Gentry of England,' London, 1766, 2 vols. 8vo, anonymous. 3. 'A Chronological Series of Engravers,' Cambridge, 1770, 12mo, also anonymous. 4. 'Catalogus Horti Botanici Cantabrigiensis,' 1771, 8vo, with a portrait of Dr. Walker, the founder, and an outline of Martyn's lectures, to which he added 'Mantissa plantarum. . . .,' 1772, 8vo. 5. 'The Antiquities of Herculaneum,' London, 1773, 4to, in conjunction with John Lettice, as already mentioned. 6. 'Elements of Natural History,' Cambridge, 1775, 8vo, being only the first part, dealing with mammals. 7. 'Letters on the Elements of Botany . . . by . . . J. J. Rousseau, translated . . . with . . . twenty-four Additional Letters,' London, 1785, 8vo. 8. 'The Gentleman's Guide in his Tour through Italy,' London, 1787, 12mo, anonymous, but enlarged and reissued with the author's name, London, 1791, 8vo. 9. 'Sketch of a Tour through Switzerland,' London, 1787, 12mo, also anonymous. 10. 'Thirty-eight Plates . . . to illustrate Linnæus's System . . .,' London, 1788, 8vo, the plates drawn and engraved by F. P. Nodder. 11. 'The Language of Botany . . . a Dictionary of Terms,' London, 1793, 12mo, 2nd edit. 1796, 3rd edit. in 8vo, 1807. 12. 'Flora Rustica,' London, 1792–1794, 4 vols. 8vo, issued in numbers, with engravings by Nodder, but discontinued after 144 plants had been figured. 13. 'The Gardener's and Botanist's Dictionary,' by Philip Miller [q. v.], London, 1807, 4 vols. fol.

Martyn also wrote papers in the 'Linnean Transactions,' one on Pozzolana earth, in 'Tracts . . . by a Society of Gentlemen of the University of Cambridge,' 1784; three on weeds, in the 'Museum Rusticum,' vols. v. and vi., 1765–6, some issued anonymously, under the initials P. B. C. (Professor Botanices Cantabrigiensis), as were some other articles, chiefly reviews.

[Memoirs of John Martyn, F.R.S., and of Thomas Martyn . . . by George Cornelius Gorham, B.D., London, 1830, 8vo; Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, iii. 156, and Literary Illustrations, v. 752; Gent. Mag. 1825, pt. ii. p. 85.]

G. S. B.

MARTYN, WILLIAM (1562-1617), lawyer and historian, baptised at St. Petrock's, Exeter, 19 Sept. 1562, was the eldest son of Nicholas Martyn of Exeter, by his first wife, Mary, daughter of Leonard Yeo of Hatherleigh. They were married on 19 Oct. 1561, and were both buried at St. Petrock's, Exeter, he on 24 March 1598–9, and she on 26 Sept. 1576. The son, after having been sent to the grammar school at Exeter, matriculated at Broadgates Hall (afterwards Pembroke College), Oxford, in the autumn of 1581 (CLARK, *Register*, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 99), where, according to Wood, he 'laid an excellent foundation in logic and philosophy.' He was called to the bar at the Middle Temple in 1589, and from 1605 to 1617 held the office of recorder of Exeter. On 7 April 1617 he died at Exeter, and was buried in St. Petrock's Church on 12 April, the inscription which was placed to his memory having been defaced in Wood's time. He married at St. Petrock's, on 28 Nov. 1585, Susan, daughter of Thomas Prestwood of Exeter, by whom he had three sons, Nicholas, William, and Edward, and one daughter, Susan, who married Peter Bevis of Exeter. She was buried at All Hallows, Goldsmith Street, Exeter, on 30 Jan. 1606–6. Martyn married for his second wife Jane, daughter of Henry Huishe of Sands in Sidbury, Devonshire. His eldest son, Nicholas, succeeded to his father's estate of Oxton in Kenton, was knighted at Newmarket, February 1624–1625, elected as member for Devonshire on 23 June 1646, and died on 25 March 1653–4.

Martyn was the author of 'The Historie and Lives of the Kings of England from William the Conqueror unto the end of the Raigne of Henrie the Eight,' 1615, contain-

Y 2

*Continued …*

ing preliminary verses from his three sons and his son-in-law, and an appendix of 'succession of dukes and earles' and other particulars. A second edition appeared in 1628, which was illustrated with portraits of the kings by R. Elstrack, most of which were sold by 'Compton Holland over against the Exchange.' To the third edition in 1638 was added 'The Historie of King Ed. VI, Queene Mary, and Q. Elizabeth, by B. R., M' of Arts,' which were much longer than all the rest of the lives put together. Fuller had been 'credibly informed' that James I took exception to some passages of this book, and that although the king was subsequently reconciled to him, the incident shortened Martyn's days. He also wrote 'Youth's Instruction,' 1612 (2nd edit. 1613), for the benefit of his son Nicholas, then a student at Oxford. Each impression contained verses by his son-in-law, and to the second was prefixed a set by his son William.

[Fuller's Worthies, ed. Nuttall, i. 446; Foster's Alumni Oxon.; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ii. 199-200; Prince's Devonshire Worthies, ed. 1810, pp. 574-9; Worthy's Devonshire Parishes, ii. 240; Vivian's Visitations of Devonshire; Oliver's Exeter, pp. 232, 236, 247.] W. P. C.

**MARVELL, ANDREW**, the elder (1586?-1641), divine, born at Meldreth in Cambridgeshire about 1586, was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. In 1608 he took the degree of M.A. In 1610 he is found signing the registers of Flamborough in Yorkshire as 'minister' and in 1611 as 'curate.' Three years later he was given the living of Winestead in Holderness, to which he was inducted on 23 April 1614. In 1624 he removed to Hull as master of the grammar school there, and became about the same time master of the Charterhouse and lecturer at Holy Trinity Church. He was drowned on 23 Jan. 1640-1, while crossing the Humber (Kippis, *Biog. Brit.* v. 3052; Gent, *Hist. of Hull*, ed. 1735, p. 141; Grosart, *Works of Andrew Marvell*, 1872, vol. i. Pref. pp. xx, xxv, xxxi; Fuller, *Worthies*, ed. Nichols, i. 165).

Marvell married twice: (1) Anne Pease, 22 Oct. 1612; (2) Lucy, daughter of John Alured, and widow of William Harris, 27 Nov. 1638. By his first wife, who was buried in Holy Trinity Church, Hull, on 28 April 1638, Marvell had three daughters and two sons, viz.: Anne, born 1615, married in 1633 James Blaydes; Mary, born 1617, married Edmond Popple in 1636; Elizabeth, born 1618, married Robert More in 1639; Andrew the poet, born 1621, the subject of a separate article; John, born 1623, died 1624 (Grosart, vol. i. pp. xxxii, xlv; Aitken, *Poems of Andrew Marvell*, vol. i. pp. xx).

Marvell is described by his son, in the second part of the 'Rehearsal Transprosed,' as 'having lived with some measure of reputation both for piety and learning, and was moreover a conformist to the established rites of the church of England, though none of the most over-running or eager in them' (Grosart, iii. 322). Fuller describes him as 'most facetious in his discourse, yet grave in his carriage, a most excellent preacher, who, like a good husband, never broached what he had new-brewed, but preached what he had prestudied some competent time before' (*Worthies*, ed. Nichols, i. 165). In December 1637, when John Ramsden, the mayor of Hull, was carried off by the plague, Marvell 'ventured to give his corpse Christian burial, and preached a most excellent sermon, which was afterwards printed' (De la Pryme, manuscript 'History of Hull,' quoted in the *Diary of Abraham de la Pryme*, ed. by C. Jackson, p. 286). No copy of this sermon, however, is in either the Bodleian or the British Museum. A number of manuscript sermons and other papers of Marvell's in the possession of Mr. E. S. Wilson of Hull are described by Dr. Grosart (Marvell, *Works*, vol. i. p. xxv). Fuller, writing in 1662, says: 'His excellent comment upon St. Peter is daily desired and expected, if the envy and covetousness of private persons, for their own use, deprive not the public of the benefit thereof' (*Worthies*, i. 165). A portion of an epistolary controversy between Marvell and the Rev. Richard Harrington of Marfleet is printed in Mr. T. T. Wildridge's 'Hull Letters' (p. 164). An elegy on Marvell, said to be from a parish register in the north of Yorkshire, is given in 'Notes and Queries,' 3rd ser. ii. 227.

[Authorities cited in the article.] C. H. F.

**MARVELL, ANDREW** (1621-1678), poet and satirist, son of Andrew Marvell the elder [q. v.], was born on 31 March 1621 at Winestead in Holderness, Yorkshire, and was educated under his father at the grammar school of Hull. He matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, 14 Dec. 1633, as a sizar. A tradition, first recorded in Cooke's 'Life of Marvell' in 1726, states that shortly after entering the university he fell under the influence of some jesuits, and was persuaded by them to leave Cambridge for London. His father discovered him in a bookseller's shop, and prevailed with him to return to the college (Cooke, *Works of Andrew Marvell*, ed. 1772, i. 5). He contributed two copies of verses to 'Musa Cantabrigiensis' in

Dr Peter Heylyn, D.D "Help to the History of England" – List of Earls of Oxford

***1652 Edition – Dr Peter Heylyn's 1641 original research brought forward***

A117. Dr Peter Heylyn, D.D. (1652) "Help to the History of England" was completed in 1641 under the pseudonym Robert Hall:

THE
FIRST TABLE,
OR, A
CATALOGVE
OF
All the Kings which have reigned in *England*, since the first entrance of the ROMANS.
As
Also of the Kings and Princes of *Wales*, the Kings and Lord of *Man*, and the Isle of *wight*, together with the Princes and Lords of *Powys*.

Printed at *London*, 1641.

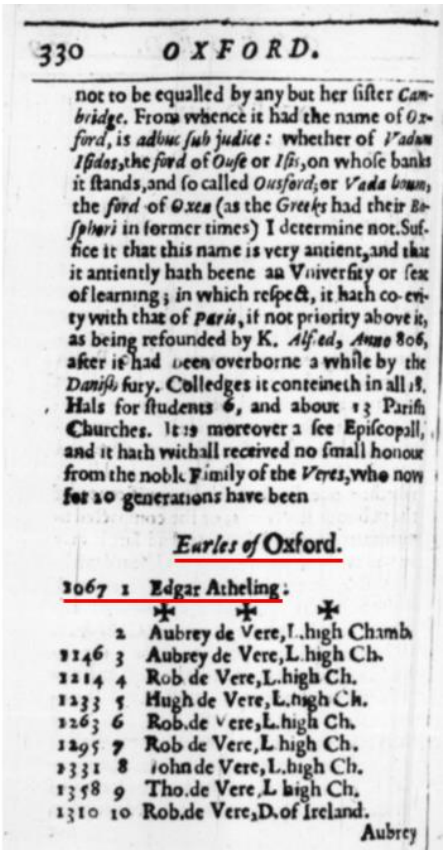
CL.
W. Turner.—1641.
*Ad Nobilem Britannum*, or an Abstract of England's Royal Prerog. 1641. 4to.

CLI.
P. Heylyn.—1641.
A Help to English History, containing a Succession of all the Kings of England, the English, Saxons, and the Britains; the Kings and Princes of Wales, the Kings and Lords of Man, and the Isle of Wight; as also of all the Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, and Bishops thereof; with the descriptions of the places from whence they had their titles; together with the Names and Ranks of the Viscounts, Barons, and Baronets of England. By Robt. Hall, Gent.

CLII.
. . . . . 1641.
The Manner of holding Parliaments in England, Collected forth of our Ancient Records: Whereunto is added certain Ancient Cus-

CLXXVI.
P. Heylyn.—1652.
A Help to English History, containing a Succession of all the Kings of England, &c.
*Vide* Art. CLI. This second impression of the *Catalogue of Kings*, &c. was continued by the Reverend compiler, Peter Heylyn, D. D. to 1652, and printed in his name.

A118. Dr Heylyn original list of Earls of Oxford, is where one can find Edgar the Ætheling, 1st Creation, 1067, most prominent at the top of Heylyn's list:



330 OXFORD.

not to be equalled by any but her sister *Cambridge*. From whence it had the name of *Oxford*, is *adhuc sub judice*: whether of *Vadum Isidos*, the *ford* of *Ouse* or *Isis*, on whose banks it stands, and so called *Ousford*; or *Vada boum*, the *ford* of *Oxen* (as the *Greeks* had their *Bosphori* in former times) I determine not. Suffice it that this name is very antient, and that it antiently hath beene an Vniversity or sete of learning; in which respect, it hath co-eity with that of *Paris*, if not priority above it, as being refounded by K. *Alfred*, *Anno* 806, after it had been overborne a while by the *Danish* fury. Colledges it conteineth in all 18. Hals for students 6, and about 13 Parish Churches. It is moreover a see Episcopall, and it hath withall received no small honour from the noble Family of the *Veres*, who now for 20 generations have been

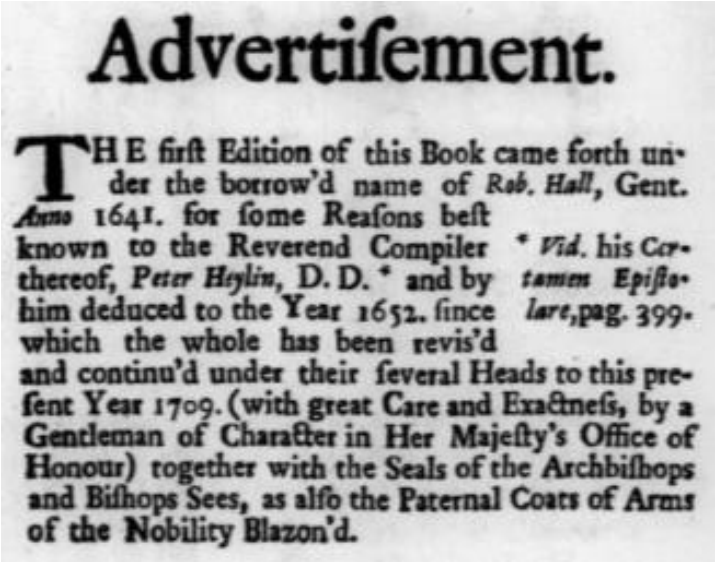
*Earles of* Oxford.

1067 1 Edgar Atheling.
✠ ✠ ✠
2 Aubrey de Vere, L. high Chamb.
1146 3 Aubrey de Vere, L. high Ch.
1214 4 Rob. de Vere, L. high Ch.
1233 5 Hugh de Vere, L. high Ch.
1263 6 Rob. de Vere, L. high Ch.
1295 7 Rob. de Vere, L. high Ch.
1331 8 John de Vere, L. high Ch.
1358 9 Tho. de Vere, L. high Ch.
1310 10 Rob. de Vere, D. of Ireland.
Aubrey

***1709 Edition –College of Arms update of Dr Helyn's 1652 list***

A119. Immediately written inside the front cover of the 1709 edition of Dr Heylyn's research updated by Her Majesty Queen Anne's Office of Honours are the following words:

> ***'… The firft Edition of this Book came forth un-der the borrow'd name of Roob. Hall, Gent 1641. For fome Reasons beft known to the Reverend Compiler therefo. Peter Heylin, D.D. and by him deduced to the Year 1652, fince which the whole has been revised and continu'd under their several Heads to this present Year 1709. (with great care and exactness by the Gentleman of Character in Her Majefty's Office of Honour), together with the Seals of the Archbifhops and Bifhops of Seas, as alfo the Paternal Coats of Arms of the Nobility Blason'd"):***

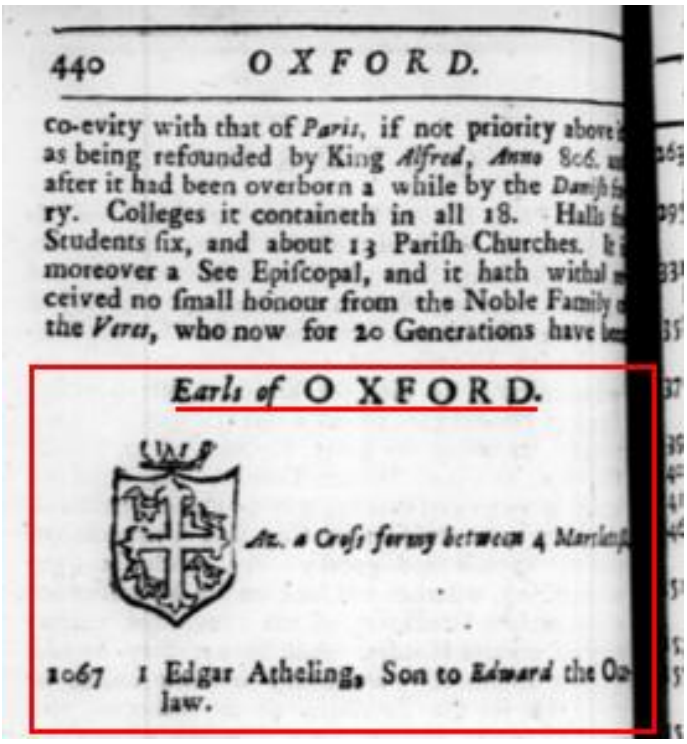


**Advertiſement.**

THE firſt Edition of this Book came forth under the borrow'd name of *Rob. Hall*, Gent. *Anno* 1641. for ſome Reaſons beſt known to the Reverend Compiler thereof, *Peter Heylin*, D. D. * and by him deduced to the Year 1652. ſince which the whole has been revis'd and continu'd under their ſeveral Heads to this preſent Year 1709. (with great Care and Exactneſs, by a Gentleman of Character in Her Majeſty's Office of Honour) together with the Seals of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops Sees, as alſo the Paternal Coats of Arms of the Nobility Blazon'd.

* *Vid.* his *Certamen Epiſtolare*, pag. 399.

A120. Below is Edgar the Ætheling's listing, as Earl of Oxford, 1st creation 1067 by Her Majety's Office of Honours in 1709 (Office of Honours, 1709, "A Help to English History" and also known as "The Catalogue of Kings, Dukes, Marquesses and Earls):



440 OXFORD.

co-evity with that of *Paris*, if not priority above as being refounded by King *Alfred*, *Anno* 806. after it had been overborn a while by the Danish ry. Colleges it containeth in all 18. Halls Students ſix, and about 13 Pariſh Churches. moreover a See Epiſcopal, and it hath withal ceived no ſmall honour from the Noble Family the *Veres*, who now for 20 Generations have

*Earls of* OXFORD.

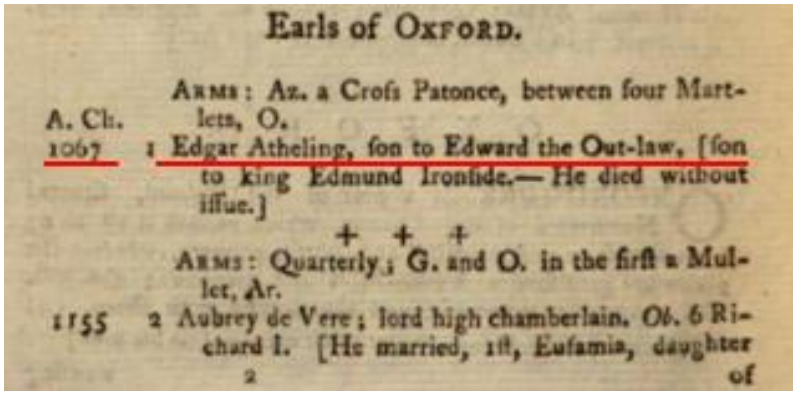
*Az. a Croſs formy between 4 Martlets*

1067 1 Edgar Atheling, Son to *Edward* the Ou law.

### *1773 Edition –Dr Peter Wright's update of the 1709 College of Arms edition*

A121. Dr Peter Wright (1773) "Help to the History of England," complete a further update of Dr Heylyn's 1652 research, whereby Dr Wright continue from where Her Majesty Queen Anne's Office of Honours (College of Arms) left off in 1709.

A122. Upheld in 1773, was Edgar the Ætheling, position under William I as Earl of Oxford, 1st Creation, listed 1067, and him being in turn up held, ranked dated the second peer since the reign of William I:



Earls of Oxford.

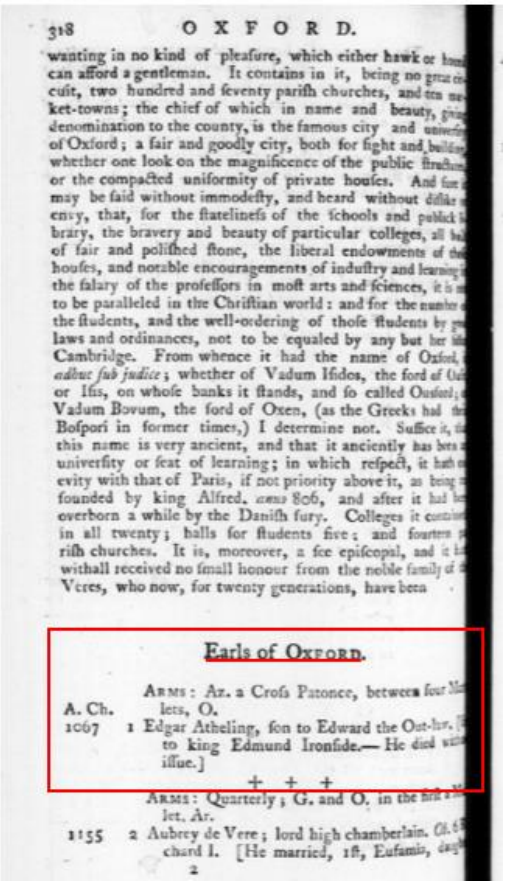
ARMS: Az. a Crofs Patonce, between four Mart-
A. Ch. lets, O.
1067 1 Edgar Atheling, fon to Edward the Out-law, [fon to king Edmund Ironfide.— He died without iffue.]

+ + +

ARMS: Quarterly; G. and O. in the firft a Mul-
let, Ar.
1155 2 Aubrey de Vere; lord high chamberlain. Ob. 6 Ri-
chard I. [He married, 1ft, Eufamia, daughter
2 of

A123. The British Library holds the original of this 1773 edition by Dr Peter Wright's update of Dr Peter Heylyn's 1641 original research. The researcher has come to understand the 1773 book was digitalised by the British Library in 2015. Dr Wright's (1773) update was completed on the 1st November 1773 and submitted to George III.

A124. Below is Edgar the Ætheling's listing, as Earl of Oxford, 1st creation 1067 inside the 1773 edition (Dr Peter Wright, 1773, p318, "A Help to English History" an update of the 1709 Office of Honor's update edition of Dr Peter Heylyn's original 1641 research):



318 OXFORD.

wanting in no kind of pleafure, which either hawk or hou
can afford a gentleman. It contains in it, being no great co
cuft, two hundred and feventy parifh churches, and ten ma
ket-towns; the chief of which in name and beauty, giv
denomination to the county, is the famous city and univerf
of Oxford; a fair and goodly city, both for fight and buildin
whether one look on the magnificence of the public ftructur
or the compacted uniformity of private houfes. And for
may be faid without immodefty, and heard without dislike
envy, that, for the ftatelinefs of the fchools and publick li
brary, the bravery and beauty of particular colleges, all bu
of fair and polifhed ftone, the liberal endowments of the
houfes, and notable encouragements of induftry and learning
the falary of the profeffors in moft arts and fciences, it is n
to be paralleled in the Chriftian world: and for the number
the ftudents, and the well-ordering of thofe ftudents by g
laws and ordinances, not to be equaled by any but her fi
Cambridge. From whence it had the name of Oxford,
*adhuc fub judice*; whether of Vadum Ifidos, the ford of Oxi
or Ifis, on whofe banks it ftands, and fo called Oxford,
Vadum Bovum, the ford of Oxen, (as the Greeks had th
Bofpori in former times,) I determine not. Suffice it, th
this name is very ancient, and that it anciently has bee
univerfity or feat of learning; in which refpect, it hath
evity with that of Paris, if not priority above it, as being
founded by king Alfred, *anno* 806, and after it had b
overborn a while by the Danifh fury. Colleges it contai
in all twenty; halls for ftudents five; and fourteen p
rifh churches. It is, moreover, a fee epifcopal, and it h
withall received no fmall honour from the noble family of
Veres, who now, for twenty generations, have been

Earls of Oxford.

ARMS: Az. a Crofs Patonce, between four Ma
A. Ch. lets, O.
1067 1 Edgar Atheling, fon to Edward the Out-law.
to king Edmund Ironfide.— He died wi
iffue.]

+ + +

ARMS: Quarterly; G. and O. in the firft a
let, Ar.
1155 2 Aubrey de Vere; lord high chamberlain. Ob. 6
chard I. [He married, 1ft, Eufamia, dau
2

This page is intentionally left blank.

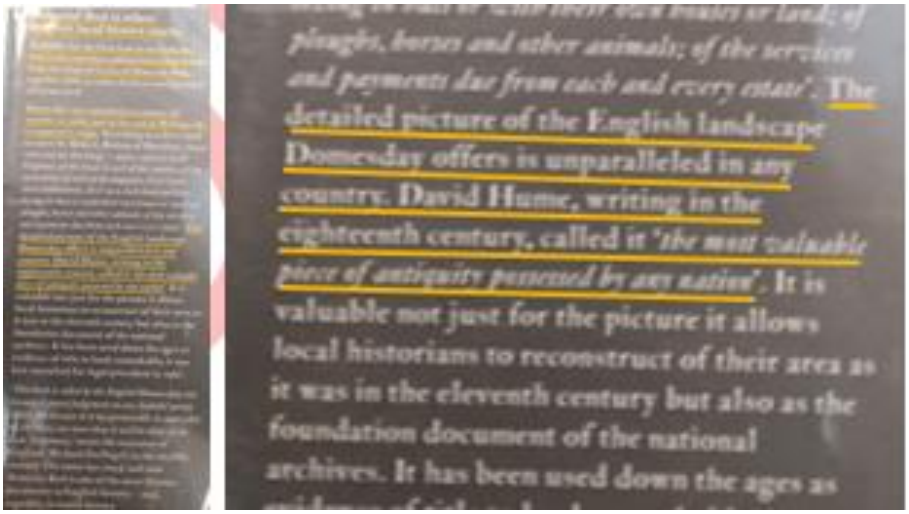
Hume's 1778 confirmation of the Earldom of Oxford, December 1066

A125. Scottish scholar, researcher and historian of note, David Hume (1778, pp 191-192) confirms the actual creation of the Earldom of Oxford by William I conferred on Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120) (Hume, D, 1778, pp 191-192, History of England, Volume 1):

> *"The king appeared solicitous to unite in an amicable manner the Normans and the English, by intermarriages and alliances; and all his new subjects who approached his person were received with affability and regard. No signs of suspicion appeared, not even towards Edgar Ætheling, the heir of the ancient royal family, whom* ***William confirmed in the honours of earl of Oxford, conferred on him by Harold****, and whom he affected to treat with the highest kindness, as nephew to the Confessor, his great friend and benefactor" (Hume. D, 1778, pp191-192, "The History of England" Vol I):*

A126. His determination is considered far more significant than previously thought due to Williams & Martin (2002) recognising inside the front dust jacket to their 2004 complete edition that it was David Hume (1791, 1778), who was the first post-conquest historian to understand the value of the original Domesday book to English history:

> *David Hume, writing in the 18th century, called it 'the most valuable piece of antiquity possessed by any Nation' (Williams & Martin, DBS 2002, DBS, inscription inside the front jacket cover):*




A127. The esteem to which these two modern experts, Williams & Martin (2002) hold David Hume and the research he produced, encouraged the researcher to learn more about Hume.

A128. The Petitioner now appreciates that David Hume aged 11 years old in 1723 was recognised by Professor of Latin and Greek at the University of Edinburgh, William Scott as a child progeny and not left disappointed when David was enrolled into Latin and Greek classes at the University and went on to have a stella research career (Source: Dalzel's History of University of Edinburgh, Vol. II, p330., Burton's Life of Hume, Vol. I., p. n. Vol. XXVIIL, p. 215; refer also: Snow., L.F. 1902, The Education of David Hume, in The Sewanee Review, Apr., 1902, Vol. 10, No. 2., Apr., 1902, pp. 207-222, publisher, The Johns Hopkins University Press).

A129. The Edinburgh University come to remember their early 18th century graduate recently (Refer also: "David Hume," 1711-1776, Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2023, revised; Spencer, M.G., 2013, p296, David Hume: Historical Thinker, Historical Writer, Penn State University Press):

IASH | THE UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH

NEWS | IASH EVENTS | ENVIRONMENTAL HUMANITIES | MEDICAL HUMANITIES | DIGITAL HUMANITIES | GENDER AT EDINBURGH

**The David Hume Tercentenary (2011)**

Celebrating Connections: Hume (1711-2011)

The Institute's Enlightenment focus in 2011 was on David Hume, with a year-long programme to celebrate the Tercentenary of his birth.
David Hume was born in Edinburgh in 1711, attended the University of Edinburgh from 1723, and died in Edinburgh in 1776, having meanwhile achieved worldwide fame as an historian and philosopher. He and his associates were at the heart of the intellectual, literary and cultural events that are now known as the Scottish Enlightenment and he is generally recognised as the greatest philosopher ever to write in English. Today his work is studied by scholars from all over the world. Although Hume wrote in the 18th century, his works continue to be influential across a wide range of scholarship and remain uncommonly relevant to the philosophical disputes of the 21st century and a wide range of current public concerns. It was fitting, therefore, that the 300th anniversary of his birth should be celebrated here in Edinburgh in 2011.

The Institute and the University of Edinburgh marked the Tercentenary with a wide range of events throughout the year exploring the many aspects of Hume's work and his legacy. These included large public occasions – such as Hume's Birthday Party on 26 April; a University of Edinburgh Enlightenment Lecture by Professor Amartya Sen; and a Gifford Lecture by Lord Sutherland of Houndwood – as well as a series of five "Dialogues with Hume" at IASH and lunchtime talks on "Hume Today". The "Dialogues with Hume" have been published as individual papers (see http://www.iash.ed.ac.uk/publications/dialogues-with-hume/). In July 2011 the 38th International Hume Society Conference was held at the University of Edinburgh and co-hosted by IASH, attracting Hume scholars from all over the world.

A number of eminent Hume scholars were Fellows of IASH in 2011 including Professor Don Garrett (New York University) who was at IASH as Carnegie Centenary Professor, and Dr Peter Millican (Hertford College, Oxford), the IASH Illumni David Hume Fellow. In addition, playwrights Jo Clifford and Linda McLean held six-month IASH/Traverse Creative Fellowships with commissions to write a play on some aspect of the life and work of David Hume. Jo Clifford's play, *The Tree of Knowledge,* was performed at the Traverse Theatre from 8 – 24 December 2011.

Other events linked to the Hume Tercentenary included *Beholder,* an exhibition at the Talbot Rice Gallery, and other exhibitions at the The Writers' Museum, Edinburgh and the National Library of Scotland; as well as a conference on *Enlightenment Aesthetics and Beyond.* The Institute has been seeking funding for an annual David Hume Fellow at IASH and thanks to generous support from The Hume Society, the Scots Philosophical Association and to IASH Fellows and supporters, the first David Hume Fellowship was awarded to Professor Peter Fosl for 2013-14. Information about the Fellowship can be found at http://www.iash.ed.ac.uk/fellowships/fellowships-at-iash/the-david-hume-...

Robert Kelham's 1788 evidence of the creation of the Earldom of Oxford, December 1066

A130. Robert Kelham's (1717-1808), Attorney to the King's Bench, and expert translator of Latin into English, recognised as it seems by his astute deduction, that Edgar the Ætheling was Earl of Oxford in 1086, when he held as "Tenant-In -Chief", the Manors of Barkway and Hormead, Hertfordshire (Kelham, R 1778, p345, "Domesday Book Illustrated", 8vo, London, 1788):

**Page 345:**

**"Ten fub com' Edgar.** ***Holds under Edgar Ætheling, Earl of Oxford*** [x] **"**

[ 345 ]

teini (has terras tenuer' v) nec poterant recedere a dño M. *Five Thanes held these lands, and they could not depart from the lord of the manor.*

tē pore, r. e. *In the time of King Edward.*

tenebat eum. *Retained him.*

ten' ſub com' Edgar. *Holds under Earl Edgar Atheling, Earl of Oxford* [1].

ten'. *Tenant.*

ten' R. pg' 1 hid'. *R. the champion holds 1 hide.*

tenet ad firmam. *Farms it.*

tenet libos hōes. *Is in poſſeſſion of the freemen.*

tenet de rege in cuſtodia (H de G) 1 hid et vi^tam partem 1 hid in M. *H de G holds of the King in ward (or has the cuſtody of it committed to him by the King) 1 hide and the 6th part of a hide in M.*

tenī. *Held.*

tenuit (iſtemet) T. R. E. ſed modo tenet ad firmam de W. graviter et miſerabiliter. *He himſelf held it as his own in the time of King Edward; but now he holds it at a very oppreſſive rent of W.*

tenetura (de.) *Of the tenure, occupation.*

tenn'. *A Thane.*

Terra. *Land* [2].

Terra,

[1] Amongſt the great tenants in Hertfordſhire, p. 142, he is ſtyled only Edgar Adeling.

[2] By this is always underſtood arable land, in contradiſtinction to paſture, meadow, wood, &c. whoſe contents are not

[1]. **"x Amongft the great tenants in Hertfordshire, p.142, he is styled only Edgar Adeling"** (Kelham, R, 1788, p 345).

A131. Submitted below is Robert Kelham (1717-1808) biography researched and written by Gege Goodwin (Goodwin, G., 1892, "Kelham, Robert," Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. 30, London: Smith, Elder & Co.; Refer also Schmidt, A.J., 2000, pp 96-109, "From Provincial to Professional: Attorney Robert Kelham , 1717-1808, in Eighteenth-century London):



[Memoir prefixed to reprint of The Divinity of our Lord; Witherow's Historical and Literary Memorials of Presbyterianism in Ireland; obituary in Belfast Newsletter, 1862.] T. H.

**KELDELETH** or **KELDELECH**, ROBERT (*d.* 1273), chancellor of Scotland, became monk, and in 1240 abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Dunfermline (*Chron. de Melrose*, p. 161, ed. Stevenson for Bannatyne Club, 1835; FORDUN, *Chronica*, ii. 68, ed. Skene). He bore a local Fifeshire name, which is said to be now represented by Kinlock. The solemn translation of St. Margaret took place at Dunfermline Abbey in 1250, and Wyntoun (lib. vii. 10) includes 'Robert of Kydeleth' among the 'mony famows gret personys' present at the ceremony. He was already chancellor of Scotland, and had influence enough to obtain from the pope the erection of Dunfermline into a mitred abbacy (*Reg. de Dunfermelyn*, No. 279).

In the strife of parties round the infant king, Alexander III, Keldeleth took the side of Alan Durward, the hostiary and chief justiciary. In the last days of 1250 the English and Scottish courts met at York to celebrate the marriage of Alexander to Margaret, daughter of Henry III. Durward, with Keldeleth and other of his supporters, were unexpectedly summoned to King Henry by the rival party, headed by Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith, and William, earl of Mar, of plotting to procure from the pope the legitimation of Durward's wife, Marjory, the illegitimate sister of Alexander, so that in the event of the king's death she might succeed to the crown. Keldeleth was said to have used the great seal of Scotland to forward this design. The alleged conspirators, including the chancellor, precipitately retired to Scotland (1251); the party of the Comyns came into power, and Keldeleth resigned or was deprived of the great seal, which was broken and a smaller one given to Gamelin, afterwards (1254) bishop of St. Andrews (FORDUN, i. 295-7).

[Besides authorities already quoted, Preface to Regist. de Dunfermelyn, pp. xi-xiii; Chartulary of Newbotle, Pref. p. xviii, ed. Cosmo Innes for Bannatyne Club, 1849; Burton's Hist. of Scotland, ii. 25; Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, pp. 226-7 (Edinb. 1832).] J. T-r.

**KELHAM**, ROBERT (1717-1808), legal antiquary, born in 1717, was the son of Robert Kelham, vicar of Billingborough, Threckingham, and Walcot, Lincolnshire. He practised as an attorney in the king's bench until 1792 (BROWNE, *General Law Lists*). He died at Bush Hill, Edmonton, on 29 March 1808, in his ninety-first year, and was buried at St. Michael Royal, College Hill, London (ROBINSON, *Edmonton*, p. 7[illegible]), leaving a son, Robert (1755-1811), an attorney of the king's bench, and a daughter (*Gent. Mag.* vol. lxxviii. pt. i. p. 370, vol. lxxxi. pt. ii. p. 492). His wife, Sarah, the youngest daughter of Peter and Joanna Gery, of the family of Gery of Bilstone, Leicestershire, had died on 28 Sept. 1774, aged 53 (NICHOLS, *Lit. Anecd.* iii. 264-5).

Kelham published: 1. 'An Alphabetical Index to all the Abridgments of Law and Equity, and to several Books of the Crown Law, Conveyancing and Practice; chiefly calculated to facilitate the references to the "General Abridgement of Law and Equity," by Charles Viner,' fol., London, 1778. 2. 'Britton, containing the antient Pleas of the Crown; Translated, and Illustrated with References, Notes, and antient Records,' 8vo, London, 1762. 3. 'The Dissertation of John Selden, annexed to Fleta, translated, with Notes,' 8vo, London, 1771. 4. 'A Dictionary of the Norman or Old French Language; . . . the Laws of William the Conqueror (and Dr. Wilkins's translation of them), with Notes and References,' 2 pts. 8vo, London, 1779. 5. 'Domesday Book Illustrated,' 8vo, London, 1788.

[Marvin's Legal Bibliography, p. 712; Nichols's Lit. Illustr. v. 191.] G. G.

**KELKE**, ROGER (1524-1576), master

Evidence of L.A. Vidler's 1841 confirmation of the creation of the Earldom of Oxford

A132. Mr. L.A. Vidler (1841, p 33) in his research found that William I confirmed Edgar Ætheling in the Earldom of Oxford, which had been conferred earlier on Edgar under the old Saxon jurisdiction by Harold III (Vidler, L.A., 1841, p 33, "Gleanings Respecting Battel and its Abbey; *see also* L.A. Vidler, Rye, Sussex, England's town historian; 'Rye Foreign' in S.A.C., in National Archives, UK, Archive of Rye Corporation, Folio: East Sussex and Brighton and Hove Record Office, ESBHRO) (typographical error identified, William I's coronation date corrected, 25th December, not 26th December, 1066):

BATTEL AND ITS ABBEY. 33

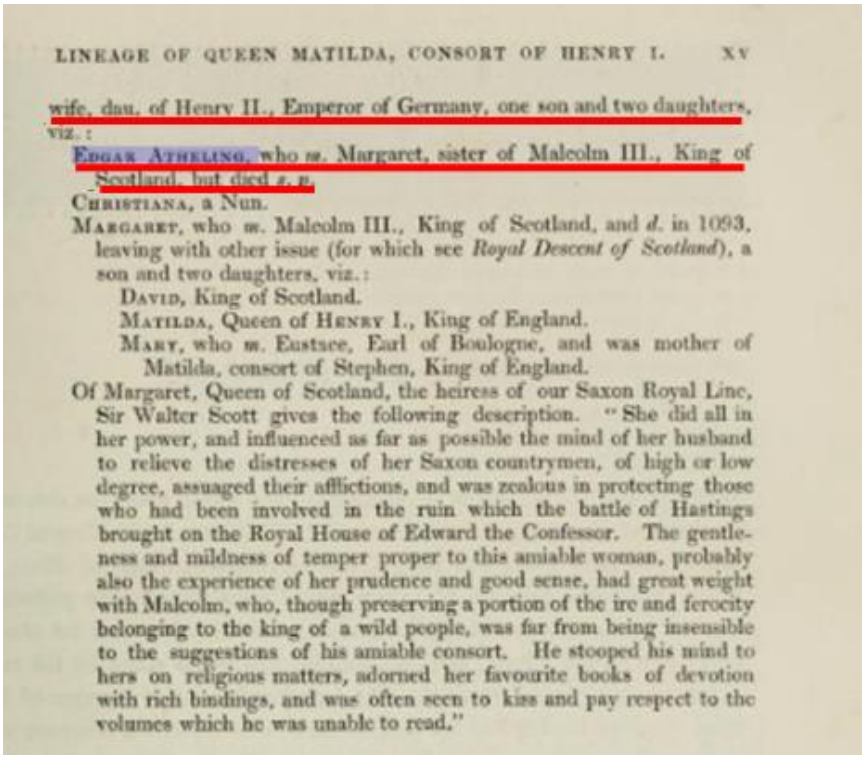
Robert the Norman. William therefore pretending that Stigand had irregularly obtained his pall from pope Benedict the Ninth, who was himself an usurper, refused to be consecrated by him, and allowed this honor to Aldred archbishop of York. The most considerable of the nobility of England and Normandy assembled at Westminster Abbey, on the 26th day of December, 1066, where Aldred made a short speech, and asked the former whether they were agreed to accept of William for their king. The bishop of Constance put the same question to the latter; and both being answered with acclamations, Aldred administered the usual oath, anointed him, and placed the crown on his head.

William distributed great sums among his troops, and expressed his gratitude to the ecclesiasticks, both in England and abroad in the manner most agreeable to them. He confirmed Edgar Atheling in the earldom of Oxford, which had been conferred on him by Harold, and treated him without the least suspicion; but Atheling was afterwards induced by Cospatrick, a powerful Northumbrian, to retire into Scotland on pretence of some impending evil. Atheling shewed himself on some occasions to be possessed of much bravery; but the meanness of his talent in other respects is evident from his never attempting to obtain the crown, though possessing the affection of the English people. He accompanied Robert duke of Normandy in the first crusade, and died in England without issue in the reign of Henry the First. He is said to have married Margaret sister of Malcom Canmore, king of Scotland, and daughter

… of Duncan who was murdered by MacBeth (page 34)

A133. Vidler (1841, p33) further found Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120), Earl of Oxford, had married Margaret Canmore, sister of his brother-in-law, Malcolm III of Scotland, but died without issue.

A134. The primary authority the Petitioner refers to for determining Edgar the Ætheling's marriage to Margaret Canmore is Burke, B [Sir] & Burke, J., 1848, The Royal Families of England, Scotland, and Wales: With their Descendants, Sovereigns and Subjects, Lineage of Queen Matilda, Consort of Henry I. Pedigree XV, thereabouts, page 178-179):



LINEAGE OF QUEEN MATILDA, CONSORT OF HENRY I. XV

wife, dau. of Henry II., Emperor of Germany, one son and two daughters, viz.:

EDGAR ATHELING, who *m.* Margaret, sister of Malcolm III., King of Scotland, but died *s. p.*

CHRISTIANA, a Nun.

MARGARET, who *m.* Malcolm III., King of Scotland, and *d.* in 1093, leaving with other issue (for which see *Royal Descent of Scotland*), a son and two daughters, viz.:

DAVID, King of Scotland.

MATILDA, Queen of HENRY I., King of England.

MARY, who *m.* Eustace, Earl of Boulogne, and was mother of Matilda, consort of Stephen, King of England.

Of Margaret, Queen of Scotland, the heiress of our Saxon Royal Line, Sir Walter Scott gives the following description. "She did all in her power, and influenced as far as possible the mind of her husband to relieve the distresses of her Saxon countrymen, of high or low degree, assuaged their afflictions, and was zealous in protecting those who had been involved in the ruin which the battle of Hastings brought on the Royal House of Edward the Confessor. The gentleness and mildness of temper proper to this amiable woman, probably also the experience of her prudence and good sense, had great weight with Malcolm, who, though preserving a portion of the ire and ferocity belonging to the king of a wild people, was far from being insensible to the suggestions of his amiable consort. He stooped his mind to hers on religious matters, adorned her favourite books of devotion with rich bindings, and was often seen to kiss and pay respect to the volumes which he was unable to read."

**Edgar Ætheling, Earl of Oxford's death in Scotland in 1120**

A135. If the Crown is inclined to accept Sir John Spelman's authority to set the year of Edgar Ætheling's death, as 1120, he probably also died and was laid to rest in Scotland (William of Malmesbury, 1120, tr. John Sharpe, 1854, p238, citing Dr Sayer, took Sir John Spelman manuscripts as the authority for the year and place of Earl Edgar's death). From this account it is estimated Edgar was 68 years old when he died (Emphasis mine):

> *"**Edgar** is stated by Dr Sayers, in his Disquisitions, 8vo,1808, p296, upon the authority of the Spelman Manuscripts, to have again **visited Scotland at a very advanced period of life, and died in that kingdom in the year 1120**. **If this date can be relied upon, the passage above, noted would prove that Malmesbury had written this portion of his history before the close of that year**".*

This page is intentionally left blank.

# KEY FINDINGS

Edgar Ætheling was found to be an Earl in Domesday

A136. The direct evidence taken from the 1086 State Document, [ODM-L] "Essex folio 4, Great Chesterford, Essex 1, 9" - "Comes Edgar"; makes little room for doubt, Edgar the Ætheling was Earl Edgar under the reign of William I (r. 1066-1087) [mine]).

A137. Edgar's title as "Earl" in the peerage of England, but unlisted on the Peerage Roll, is further confirmed by the following authorities:

i. Ronald P. Gadd (1985, pp 130-131) Peerage Law. Provided a modern expert referral to Thomas Milles (1610) "Catalogue of Honour" as an authority for the Peerage of England. Gadd pointed the Petitioner to Edgar the Atheling's listing by Thomas Milles (1610, p674) as Earl of Oxford, 1067. Gadd is a Barrister, and he qualified with an M.A.in Law at London University. He is also a noted Historian of Heraldry and Peerage.
ii. State Document, 1086 Original Domesday Manuscript – Latin (1086 ODM-L), "***Comes Edgar***", Essex folio 4, Great Chesterford, Essex 1, 9).
iii. Professor Tom Licence, MA, MPhil, PhD, FHEA, FRHistS, FSA, Professor of Medieval History, University of East Anglia, Senior Research Fellow, Magdalene College, Cambridge, who found in favour of the petitioner's statement that, on balance of probabilities, Edgar the Aetheling was created an Earl by William I. He arrives at that from evidence adduced from reviewing the draft supplemental petition and drew the conclusion largely by independent arguments, as set out above in this final document as ascribed to him.
iv. Dr Jacqueline Harmon, PhD (2016, p129), Some Aspects of the History of Barnwell Priory: 1092-1300, A dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy University of East Anglia School of History September 2016.
i. Dr C.L Lewis, PhD (1991, p47, fn. 39) "The Formation of the Honor of Chester 1-66-1100", was considered tentative, but now absolute given fresh evidence (see paragraph A151, p 77, above).
ii. H. Arthur Doubleday & William Page (1903, p337, p338, fn. 1, p430), "Victoria County History [V.C.H.] of Essex, Vol I", Institute of Historical Research University of London, School of Advanced Study)
iii. Dr Alexander R Rumble (1983, p193), "Domesday Book, Essex".
iv. Thomas Wright (1836, p127), M.A., B.A., wrote the "History and Topography of the County of Essex".
v. PASE Domesday, Edgar 14, Notes by author, "DWP", citing Mundham, Norfolk, LDB 259a-b Mundham).
vi. Earlier still, Henry Knighton (1396) "Knighton's Chronicles, 1337-1396"; reliably informs that Edgar the Ætheling was Earl under William I from 1067: "***Comites … Edgar Athelyng***".

Edgar Ætheling was created Earl of Oxford, 1067, first creation by William I, by authority

A138. He, Edgar Ætheling's peerage title, "Earl or Earldom of Oxford, 1067, first creation is further put beyond doubt, when the expert principal authorities the Crown relies on for this matter are consulted:

**i.** Robert Glover (pre-1588), "Nobilitas Politica vel Civilis", Somerset Herald, Officer of Arms, College of Arms, unpublished manuscript, Royal Collection Trust (printed in 1608 by nephew, Thomas Milles) – **"Edgar Ætheling, Earl of Oxford, 1067, first creation".**
ii. Thomas Milles (1610, pp 54-55, p674), "Catalogue of Honour", in which Milles, took the research of his uncle, Robert Glover (1544-1588), Somerset Herald and Officer of the College of Arms, records that Edgar Ætheling, Earl of Oxford, first creation 1067, died as "Earl Edgar", without issue.

iii. Dr Peter Heylyn (1641) "Help to English History" **"Edgar Ætheling, Earl of Oxford, 1067, first creation".**

iv. William Martyn (1615) "The Historie and Lives of Kings of England" **Edgar Ætheling, Earl of Oxford, 1067, first creation".**

v. College of Arms work in 1709; 1709 College of Arms, "Help to English History," by Her Majesty Queen Anne's (r. 1702-1714), "Office of Honours" - **"Edgar Ætheling, Earl of Oxford, 1067, first creation".**

vi. Dr Paul Wright, D.D. (1773, p318) "Help to English History" - **"Edgar Ætheling, Earl of Oxford, 1067, first creation".**

vii. Robert Kelham's (1788, p345), Attorney to the King's Bench, and expert translator of Latin into English, in his book, Kelham, R, (1788, p345) "Domesday Book Illustrated", - "**Edgar Ætheling Earl of Oxford, Tenant-in Chief in 1086, Manors of Barkway and Hormead of Hertfordshire".**

A139. The Petitioner believes the fresh, corroborative evidence submitted in this supplemental petition, that William I created Edgar Ætheling, Earl of Oxford 1066/67 is in accordance the Peerage Law in England, as advised by F.B Palmer (1907) "Peerage Law in England: A Practical Treatise for Lawyers and Laymen":

***"Where a patent of peerage cannot be found recorded in the Patent Rolls or elsewhere in the records, other evidence must be resorted to" (Palmer, 1907, p235).***

And …

"… ***once having brought a peerage into existence, the Crown's control of <u>it is in a measure</u> exhausted" (Palmer, 1907, p2).***

# FINAL STATEMENTS

A140. Most humbly, the Petitioner says, the necessary correction to the history of England since the reign of William I is warranted for the Crown to declare Edgar the Ætheling (1052-1120) was created the peerage Earl of Oxford, by William I in 1066, and listed 1067.

A141. Whereby, it is understood by the Petitioner the standard of proof to apply to the claim made above will be considered in light of the recent Baronetcy claim of "In re: Pringle of Stitchill JCPC (2016)" (Judicial Committee of the Privy Council sitting as the Baronets Committee).

A142.

A143.

[redacted]

# PETITIONER'S FINAL DETERMINATION

A144. The Petitioner most humbly say, they have met the minimum, and perhaps higher burden of proof, supporting the actual creation of the Earldom of Oxford, December 1066/7, by William I.

This page is intentionally left blank.

# ATTACHMENT 1

Letter of expert opinion

This page is intentionally left blank.

## Letter of expert opinion

Professor Tom Licence, MA, MPhil, PhD, FHEA, FRHistS, FSA
Professor of Medieval History, University of East Anglia
Senior Research Fellow, Magdalene College, Cambridge

**I write at the request of the petitioners with specific reference to their statement in A140, that 'Edgar the Aetheling was created an Earl by William I'.**

<u>To begin with, I will present additional evidence, and an argument of my own:</u>

The earliest source touching on the matter of William I's treatment of Edgar is the *Carmen de Hæstingæ proelio* ('Song of the Battle of Hastings'), written in 1067/8 by Bishop Guy of Amiens. Guy claims that when William invaded England (in late September 1066), he sent a messenger to King Harold, offering to grant him the lands his (Harold's) father had held in return for renouncing the throne and recognising William as king. The 'lands his father had held' ('terram quam pridem tenuit pater', cited from Barlow's edition of the *Carmen*, p. 16), refers to the earldom of Wessex.

Thus, we have it on the evidence of the well-informed observer, Guy, who was chaplain to William's queen, and writing within a year or two of the conquest, that William was the sort of man who might offer – and who was believed to have offered – an earldom as recompense to a king for renouncing the throne.

A few months later, William was in a similar position of wishing to persuade another king to renounce the throne. The king now was Edgar Aetheling. The petitioners are entirely correct, that the English had established him upon the throne in October or November. The *Carmen* (p. 38) indicates that Edgar had been elected ('electus'), and crowned ('in regem sacrent'), and that the news went out that London had a king ('sparsit fama volens quod habet Lundoniam regem'). William of Poitiers, who employed the *Carmen* as a source for his *Gesta Guillelmi* ('Deeds of William [the Conqueror]') in the 1070s, read the passage to mean as much, and wrote that the English 'instated King Edgar Aetheling' ('regem statuerant', p. 147, citing Davis and Chibnall's edition). Further confirmation comes in the fact that the monks of Peterborough sent Brand, their abbot-elect, to Edgar, for his royal confirmation as their abbot (referenced in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle E text annal for 1066).

After his victory over Harold at Hastings on 14 October 1066, William took a round-about route to London, before preparing to besiege the city, where the new king, Edgar, and the leading men were holding out. Preferring to avoid bloodshed, William initiated negotiations. These are mentioned in our early sources, the *Carmen* and the *Gesta Guillelmi*. The negotiations were – from William's perspective – a success, resulting in the submission of the leading men, and in Edgar renouncing his kingship in recognition of William's title. While the *Carmen* says nothing of the inducements which William offered, William of Poitiers, in the *Gesta Guillelmi* (p. 162), states that he endowed Edgar Aetheling with 'sizeable lands' ('amplis terris ditavit' - with *amplus* having the sense of 'extensive'/ 'important'/ 'honourable', and *dito* having 'enriched' as its meaning).

Given that William had thought – or was believed to have thought – that an earldom was suitable recompense for a king with whom he was negotiating earlier that year, it is highly likely that he would have offered King Edgar a similar inducement to renounce his royal title. Indeed, I think it unlikely that William would have offered him anything *less* than an earldom, for Edgar's royal title and the support which he enjoyed were equal to nothing less, and William was faced with the unhappy alternative of besieging London in the winter – something he would have gone to great lengths to avoid.

As mentioned above, William of Poitiers claims that William recompensed Edgar with 'sizeable lands' – a statement which reinforces the idea that his reward was an earldom. While it might be objected that he does not *call* the reward an earldom, his reference to sizeable lands is comparable to the one which I cited earlier from the *Carmen*, in which 'the lands his [i.e. Harold's] father had held' can only refer to

the earldom of Wessex. From this example, there is clear evidence that a continental writer could conceive of an English earldom in terms of lands, rather than in terms of offices and titles to which comital lands attached. It is therefore not a concern that William of Poitiers makes no specific mention of Edgar's reward having been an earldom.

I further note that William was content to let the existing earls keep the title *Earl* and the lands attached to their offices, and that this approach would be compatible to him either confirming Edgar in such a role or granting him a comital (i.e. an earl's) title as recompense for relinquishing his royal office.

***On this evidence, I consider the balance of probabilities to be that the Norman duke (and later king) William offered Edgar an earldom in 1066 and made him earl either at the end of 1066 or early in 1067.***

<u>I will now comment briefly on certain aspects of the evidence adduced in the petition, starting with the Domesday evidence:</u>

If, as I think most likely, Edgar was granted an earldom in 1066/7, then by his rebellion in 1068 or 1069, that earldom would have fallen forfeit. Domesday Book captures evidence of who held lands and titles at two moments in time: first, near the end of 1065 in the reign of King Edward (TRE - Tempus regis Eadwardi), and second, in 1086 (TRE – Tempus regis Willelmi), at the time Domesday was compiled. It would therefore not be expected that a man who obtained an earldom in 1066 and lost it in c. 1068 would appear as an earl in Domesday Book. The landholder named as *Comes Edgarus* ('Earl Edgar') in Great Chesterford, Essex, is thought by modern experts, to represent Ælfgar, another earl, whose abundant holdings were posthumously recorded. This is certainly the view of Stephen Baxter and Chris Lewis, who are the editors of *Domesday PASE* (the online Domesday prosopography database), which is a better-grounded study than most interpretation that has gone before. It is not necessary for Edgar to appear in Domesday Book for this petition to make a credible case.

In my opinion, it is more likely that Edgar, having been an earl, would not show up in Domesday Book. If, however, he does, then the case is clinched regardless of the argument which I put forward.

Secondly, it is evident that certain authorities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries believed that Edgar was created earl of Oxford. Their opinion merits consideration, as it is, on the whole, unlikely that such an idea would arise out of nowhere, and it must be allowed that those authorities may have consulted sources that are unknown to us, having been lost in the intervening centuries.

In Appendix 2 of his study of the earls of Mercia, Stephen Baxter, who is the lead expert on the earldom, demonstrates the extent of the uncertainty around who held the earl's office in Oxfordshire after the death of Earl Ralph in 1057. There is writ evidence that Harold's brother Gurth was earl there in 1065, but Gurth died in the battle of Hastings (14 October 1066), creating a vacancy (if indeed he had been earl in Oxfordshire). The previous incumbent, Ralph, had been Edward the Confessor's nephew. It is conceivable that the positioning of Edward's late *nephew* in Oxfordshire might have been a factor in determining which honour to grant to Edward's *great nephew* Edgar - and that the shire of Oxfordshire was considered to be suitable for him for that reason. There is no contemporary evidence that Edgar's earldom centred on Oxfordshire, but the weight of antiquarian testimony, coupled with the reasoning presented above, tends more in that direction than any other.

***In conclusion, I find in favour of the petitioners' statement that, on balance of probabilities, Edgar the Aetheling was created an Earl by William I, though I arrive at that conclusion largely by independent arguments, as set out above.***

Tom Licence
12 September 2024

# TABLE OF NAMES

Adeling, 69
Ætheling, 9, 24, 25, 28, 60, 87
Archive of Rye Corporation, 71
Aristocracy, 9, 24
Baxter, S, 85
Bedwin, O, 28, 35, 85
British Library Board, Royal 14 B. VI membrane, 86
British Library MS Stowe 9444 fol.29r, 85
Chauncy, 85
Chief administrative officers of the king, 9, 24
Comte, 27, 85, 87
Comte Edgar, 27, 85
Cristina, 2
Dalton, P, 86
Darren John Halifax, 15
Darren John Halifax (1965-), 15
David Bates, 5
David Bates (PhD) Professor at Emeritus College, University of East Anglia, 5
David Hume, 67, 68, 88
Dennis Keith Lillee, 15
Dennis Keith Lillee (1949-), 15
Dennis Keith Lillee (1949-) AM, MBE, 77
Domesday, 7, 28, 29, 32, 33, 35, 37, 39, 67, 69, 75, 76, 86, 87, 88
Dr Katherine Blayney, 49, 85
Dr Mathew Champion (PhD), 5
Dr Matthew Firth (PhD), 5
Dr Peter Heylyn, 63
Dr Richard Huscroft, 49
Dr Williams PhD, 67
Earl, 9, 15, 24, 28, 29, 41, 69, 87, 88
Earl Edgar, 28, 29
Earl Edgar [the Ætheling], 28
Earl of Oxford, 15, 69
Earldom of Oxford, 1, 60, 67, 69, 71, 77, 86
Essex City Council (ECC), 28
Edgar, 1, 2, 3, 5, 15, 28, 29, 39, 48, 59, 60, 67, 69, 71, 77, 86, 87
Edgar Ætheling, 5, 15, 39, 60, 67, 69, 86
Edgar Ætheling, Earl of Oxford, 69
Edgar the Ætheling, 2, 5, 28, 48, 49, 59, 87
Edward the Confessor, 5, 28, 49, 85
Ellis H, 39, 86
Emily Joan Ward, 86
Emily Ward, 86
Essex City Council, 28
Essex County Council, 28, 35, 85, 86
Fuller, 86
Geoffrey Martin, 87
Geoffrey Martyn, 67
Grant Bavister, College of Arms, 5, 15
Harold, 67
honour, 29
Honour, 86
Hooper, N, 87
Hume, 19, 67, 68, 86
Hume, D, 19, 67
Huscroft, 87
John Lindsay Robert Guest, 15, 77
John Lindsay Robert Guest (1960-), 15
Kathleen Neal (PhD), 5
Kelham, 7, 69, 76
Kellham, 69

King Charles III 3, 77
King Edward, 28
King Edward the Confessor, 87
King William, 15
King William I, 15
L.A. Vidler, 71
Laura Ashe, 86
Luscombe, D, 86
Malcolm III, 71
Malcolm III of Scotland, 72
Manor of Barkway, 39
Manor of Barkway and Hormead [Great and Little], Edwinstree, Huntingdonshire, 39
Manor of Chesterford, 28
Margaret Canmore, 71
Martyn, 59, 60, 87
Martyn, William, 87
National Archives, UK, 71
Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, 85
Orderic Vitalis, 86
Ordericus, 86
Ordericus Vital, 86
Palmer, F.B, 87
Poole, R.L., MA., L.L.D., Litt.D, 87
Prince, 87
Prince Albert, 86
Professor Tom Licence, 5, 7, 34, 39, 41
Queen Matilda, Consort of Henry I, 72, 85
Queen Victoria, 86
Rippon, S, 28, 88
Robert Kelham, 70
Romsey Abbey, 88
Rosamond McKitterick, PhD, 5
Rumble, 28, 29, 35, 75, 87, 88
Seir, R, 28, 88
Tenant in Capite, 39
The Archaeology of Essex Proceedings of the Writtle Conference, 28, 35, 85
The English Historical Review, 87
Thomas Forrester, M.A, 86
Thomas Milles, 53
Thomas Wright, 29, 75
Tom Licence, 4, 5, 7, 20, 75, 81, 82
Vidler, 19, 71, 87, 88
Vita Ædwardi Regis, 88
Ward, 85, 88
William, 7, 59, 60, 67, 71, 76, 85, 86, 87, 88
William Francis Collier, 19, 48, 85
William I, 3, 5, 59, 77
William Martyn, 7, 59, 71, 76, 87
William Martyn (1562-1617), 59
William the Conqueror, 85, 86, 87
Williams & Martin, 5, 67
Winkler, 88
Worthies of England, 86
Wright, T, 29, 75, 89

# BIBLIOGRAPHY


1. Anglo Saxon Chronicles -Worcester manuscript [D] Parts 1 & 2.
2. ASC D *s.a.* 1066.
3. Ashe., L. & Ward., E.J. (2020) Conquests in Eleventh-Century England.
4. Association and Succession, in Ashe., L & Ward., E.J., eds. (2020) Conquests in Eleventh-Century England.
5. Bates, D. (1975) The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (1049/50–1097), in: Speculum, vol. 50, pp. 1-10, 1975.
6. Bates, D. (1982) The Origins of the Justiciarship, ANS, 4.
7. Bates, D. (1985) A Bibliography of Domesday Book. Woodbridge: Boydell.
8. Bates, D. (2016) William the Conqueror, London and New Haven, Yale University Press.
9. Bavister, G (2024, p3) Letter by email to the Petitioner, Succession to the Earldom of Oxford, College of Arms, 22nd January, 2024.
10. Baxter, S & Lewis, C. (2019) Domesday Book and the Transformation of English Landed Society.
11. Baxter, S PhD. (2007) MS C of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Politics of Mid-Eleventh-Century England', English Historical Review, 122, 1189-1227; idem., The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in late Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford, 2007).
12. Baxter, S. ( 2009) The Confessor and the Succession Question.
13. Baxter, S. (2009) Edward the Confessor: The Man and the Legend.
14. Bedwin, O. (1996) ed. The Archaeology of Essex Proceedings of the Writtle Conference, pp 117-28, Essex County Council.
15. Bethany, J. (1771) The History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely: From the Foundation of the Monastery, A.D. 673, to the year 1771.
16. Birch, W.G. (1887) Domesday Book - A Popular Account of the Exchequer Manuscript So Called.
    Collier W. F. (1881) History of the British Empire. Trinity College, Dublin.
17. Blayney, K. (2019) The Tenurial Structure of Hampshire Before and After the Norman Conquest. PhD Dissertation, St Peter's College University of Oxford.
18. Blayney, K. (2019) The Tenurial Structure of Hampshire Before and After the Norman Conquest. A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, St Peter's College, University of Oxford.
19. Brader, C. (2022). In Focus, Peerages: Can they be Removed? UK Parliament, House of Lords Library.
20. British Library MS Stowe 9444 fol.29r.
21. Burke., B [Sir] & Burke, J. (1848) The Royal Families of England, Scotland, and Wales: With their Descendants, Sovereigns and Subjects, Lineage of Queen Matilda, Consort of Henry I. Pedigree XV, thereabouts page 178-179.
22. Chauncy H. [Sir] (1826) The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire.
23. College of Arms (1709) Help to English History. Her Majesty Queen Anne's (r. 1702-1714), Office of Honours.
24. Comte Edgar, Great Chesterford, Essex, as LDB 3b [Essex 1:9].
25. Couch, D. (2006, p100) The Normans: The History of a Dynasty.
26. Courtney, W. P. (1885) William Martyn in Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900, Volume 36.
27. Cubbin, G.P. (1996, pp 80-81) The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Editi, Volume 6: MS D, ed. G. P. Cubbin, Cambridge, 1996.
28. Dalton, P & Luscombe, D. (2015) Rulership and Rebellion in the Anglo-Norman World, c.1066-c.1216: Essays in Honour of Professor Edmund King.
29. Dalzel's History of University of Edinburgh, Vol. II, p330., Burton's Life of Hume, Vol. I., p. n. Vol. XXVIIL, p. 215.
30. David Hume 1711-1776, Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2023, revised.
31. Davis, H., & Carless, W. (1911) Odo of Bayeux in Chisholm, Hugh, ed., Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. 20, 11th ed.

32. Davis. R.C.H & Chibnall., M. (1998) The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers. OMT. Oxford and New York: Clarendon. Modern edition, with English translation and commentary.
33. Debrett's Online.
34. Desper, R. (2006) Much Ado About Oxford. The Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter Vol. 42: No.3 Fall 2006: 3-4, 21-246.
35. Digby A., & Feinstein, C. (1991) Domesday Book "Glossary" in Economic History Society.
36. Domesday "Comte Edgar" Great Chesterford: LDB 3b, Essex 1:9; GDB 189d, Cambs 1:10, 190a, Cambs 1:15.
37. Doubleday H.A. (1903) Victoria County History [V.C.H.] of Essex, Vol I. Institute of Historical Research University of London, School of Advanced Study.
38. Douglas, D.C. (1964) William the Conqueror: The Norman Impact on England, London.
39. Dumville (1979) The Ætheling: A Study in Anglo Saxon Constitutional History. Anglo-Saxon England, 8, 1979), pp 1-33.
40. Edgar Ætheling's Position in the Genealogical Roll of the Kings of England, The British Library Board, Royal 14 B. VI membrane.
41. Ellis H [Sir]. (1833) General Introduction to the Domesday Book.
42. Emily Ward (2020, p336) Child kings and the Norman Conquest: Representation of Association and Succession, in Laura Ashe and Emily Joan Ward (eds), Conquest in Eleventh-Century England (Woodbridge, 2020, pp, 331-352).
43. Fleming, R. (1991) Kings and Lords in Conquest England, Cambridge University Press.
44. Forester T. (1856) Ecclesiastical History England and Normand, Ordericus Vital, Vol IV.
45. Forrester, T., M. A. (1856) Translation of Orderic Vitalis's Chronological Index.
46. French G.R (1841) The Ancestry of HM Queen Victoria and HRH Prince Albert.
47. Fuller T (1662) Worthies of England.
48. G. H. Martin (2004) Knighton, Henry, d. c.1396, Chronicler and Augustinian Canon. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.
49. Gadd, R.P. (1985, pp 130-131) Peerage Law.
50. Gascoyne, A. (2016, p9) Historic & Built Environment Manager Place Services Essex County Council County Hall Chelmsford Essex, Great and Little Chesterford Neighbourhood Plan: Historic Environmental Assessment, Essex County Council.
51. GDB 189d [Cambs 1:10], 190a [Cambs 1:15].
52. Given-Wilson, C. (1996) The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages: The Fourteenth-century Political Community.
53. Glover, R (pre-1588) Nobilitas Politica vel Civilis. Somerset Herald, Officer of Arms, College of Arms, unpublished manuscript, Royal Collection Trust.
54. Godfrey, W.H & Wagner, A [Sir] 'Somerset Herald', in Survey of London Monograph 16, College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street, London, 1963, and published by British History Online.
55. Guest, J.L.R (2023) Petition for Succession from an Ancient Peerage of Post Conquest England, Earldom of Oxford, First Creation, December 1066, 15th February 2023 – Petitioners, Halifax, D.J, Lillee. D.K, & Guest, J. L. R.
56. Hall, S. (2023, pp1-2) The Hon. Justice, Supreme Court of Western Australia, Marshalling the Evidence an Address to the Advanced Evidence and Proof Unit Students University of Western Australia, Law School, Wednesday 27 June 2023.
57. Hariulf of Saint-Riquies. (1080s) Chronique De L Abbaye De *Saint Riquier* V.
58. Harmon, J., PhD. (2016) Some Aspects of the History of Barnwell Priory: 1092-1300. A dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy University of East Anglia School of History September 2016.
59. Hefferman, D, PhD. (2023) William the Conqueror: The King of England. Video Transcript, Reference, 36:09 - 36:48.
60. Hewins, W.A.S. (1903) Milles, Thomas d 1627? Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900, Volume 37.
61. Heylyn P (1652) The First Table Or, A Catalogue of All the Kings Which Have Reigned in England, Since the First Entrance of The Romans, Incorporating the List of the Earls of Oxford Since the Norman Conquest.

62. Hooper, N. (1985) Edgar the Ætheling: Anglo-Saxon Prince, Rebel and Crusader, Anglo-Saxon England, 14, pp 197-214.
63. Hunter, R.T. (2006) Shakespeare and the first Earl of Oxford. Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter, Vol. 42, no. 1, Winter 2006, p. 13. Gale Academic.
64. Huscroft, R., PhD. (2016) Ruling England 1042-1217, 2nd Edition.
65. Hutchinson, J. (1892, p103) Thomas Milles, Men of Kent and Kentishmen: A Manual of Kentish Biography, Canterbury, Cross & Jackman, Subscription Edition.
66. Kelham, R. (1788) Domesday Book Illustrated.
67. Keynes, S. (1994) Cnut's Earls in A. Rumble (ed.), Reign of Cnut, London.
68. Knighton, H. (1396) Knighton's Chronicles, 1337-1396.
69. Latimer, P. (1982, p37) The Earls in Henry II's Reign. PhD Thesis.
70. Lee, S ed. (1893) Martyn, William, Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. 36. London: Smith, Elder & Co.
71. Leith, S & Reynolds, T. (1993) Hinxton Hall: An Archaeological Desk Top Study, TL 496/448, Oxford Archaeological.
72. Leith, S & Reynolds, T. (1993, p3) Hinxton Hall: An Archaeological Desk Top Study, TL 496/448, Oxford Archaeological.
73. Leslie, S & Lee, S. (1890) Dictionary of National Biography Vol.22, Roberrt Grover 1544-1588 by Thomas Cooper, F.S.A. "T.C", page 7.
74. Lewis, C.L (1991, p47, fn. 39) The Formation of the Honor of Chester 1-66-1100.
75. Licence, T, Prof. (2024) Expert Letter of Opinion, 12th September, 2024.
76. Licence, T. (2017) Edward the Confessor the Succession Question: A Fresh Look at the Sources.
77. Lord Edgar in Mundham, in Norfolk, LDB 259a-b Mundham - "the king and the earl have the soke".
78. Mac Farlane, C. (1845) The Cabinet History of England, an Abridgment of the Chapters Entitled 'Civil and Military History' in the Pictorial History of England [by G.L. Craik and C. MacFarlane] with a continuation to the Present Time, Volumes 1-2, Editor, George Lillie Craik, 1798-1866.
79. Macfarlane, C. (1845) The Cabinet History of England, an Abridgment of the Chapters Entitled 'Civil and Military History" in the Pictorial History of England by G.L. Craik.
80. Martyn W. (1615) The Historie, and Lives, of Twentie Kings of England. With Successions of the Dukes from William the Conqueror unto the End of the Raigne of Henry the Eight - A List of Nobility of England, Ranked According to Their Degrees and Creations.
81. McGuigan, N. (2015) Neither Scotland nor England: Middle Britain, c.850–1150. PhD Dissertation, University of St Andrews.
82. Milles, T. (1610) Catalogue of Honor, Bodleian Library (Rawl. MSS. 65 B, 113 B).
83. Noble, M. (1804) A History of the College of Arms: And the Lives of All the Kings, Heralds, And Pursuivants from The Reign of Richard III, Founder of The College, Until the Present Time.
84. ODM-L Essex folio 4, Great Chesterford, Essex 1, 9 – "Comes Edgar".
85. Open Domesday, Kings College Cambridge; Domesday Book 1086, Essex, folio 4.
86. Original Domesday Manuscript, Essex folio 4, nobility title, Comte (Earl) Edgar (the Ætheling).
87. Page W., et al. 1936: A History of the County of Huntingdon: Volume 3, ed. W. Page, G. Proby and S. I. Ladds, London.
88. Palmer, F. B. (1907) Peerage Law in England: A Practical Treatise for Lawyers and Laymen.
89. Philips, W.A, (1911) "Duke," 1911 Encyclopædia Britannica, Volume 8, p65.
90. Phillimore reference: Huntingdonshire 11, 2.
91. Phillimore: Essex 1,9.
92. Poole, R.L., MA., L.L.D., Litt.D. (1918) The English Historical Review.
93. Professor Geoffrey Martin, "Obituary," in The Times, London. 31 January 2008.
94. Rippon, S. (1996) Essex c700-1066.
*95.* Royal UK "Genealogical Roll of the Kings of England", the *British Library Board, Royal 14 B. VI membrane.*

96. Royal UK, Edgar Ætheling, r. Oct-Dec 1066.
97. Rumble, A.R (1983) Domesday Book, Essex.
98. Rumble, A.R. (1981) Domesday Book: Cambridgeshire; Phillimore, Chichester, Translation by Jennfier Fellows and Simon Keynes.
99. Seir, R (2016) Water Power in Essex - The River Granta or Cam.
100. Sharpe, J. (1854) William of Malmesbury, A History of the Norman Kings", tr. by J. Sharpe. Revised with notes by J. Stevenson, Volume 3, Part 1.
101. Smith., G.B. (1890/1895, p250) French, George Russell, in Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900, Volume 20.
102. Snow., L.F. (1902) The Education of David Hume, in The Sewanee Review, Apr., 1902, Vol. 10, No. 2., Apr., 1902, pp. 207-222, publisher, The Johns Hopkins University Press.
103. Spencer, M.G. (2013) David Hume: Historical Thinker, Historical Writer, Penn State University Press.
104. Strevett, N. (2005) The Anglo-Norman Aristocracy under Divided Lordship, 1087-1106: A Social and Political Study. A Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy University of Glasgow Department of History Medieval Area May 2005).
105. Strickland, M., PhD. (2023) Rebellion, Resistance and Restoration: Strategies of Limited Violence in Late Anglo-Saxon England, 1042–1066, Global Intellectual History.
106. Stubbs, W, Feudalism: Its Frankish Birth and English Development, Ninth to Twelfth Century; in "The Great Events by Famous Historians, Supervising Editor: Rossiter Johnson, Ll. D; Literary Editors: Charles F. Horne, Ph.D.; John Rudd, Ll. D; Directing Editor: Walter F. Austin, Ll.M.
107. Taylor E. (1837) Master Wace's Chronicle of the Norman Conquest from the Roman de Rou. Translated with notes and illustrations by Edgar Taylor, Esq. F.S.A.
108. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Edited, From the Translation in Monumenta Historica Britannica and Other Versions, New Edition, 1914, by the late., Dr. J. A. Giles D C.L., First Edition, 1848.
109. The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio [Song of the Battle of Hastings] of Guy, Bishop of Amiens
110. Turner, S. (1852) The History of the Anglo-Saxons, from the Earliest Period to the Norman Conquest.
111. Twysden R [Sir]. (1652) Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X.
112. Tyerman, C. (1996) Who's Who in Early Medieval England, 1066-1272, pp11-12.
113. van Houts, E. (1995) The Norman Conquest through European Eyes. HER 110, 1995, pp 832-853 at p 846.
114. Vidler, L.A. (1841) Gleanings Respecting Battel and its Abbey.
115. Vita Ædwardi Regis, writing c. 1065-7, cited in Ward (2020, p337).
116. Ward J. E. (2020) Child King and the Norman Conquest: Representations and Associations of Succession.
117. William of Malmesbury, A History of the Norman Kings (1066–1125), with the Historia Novella or History of his Own Times (1126–1142), tr. John Sharpe (London 1854, p238),
118. William of Poitiers, Gesta Guillelmi, ed. and tr. R. H. C. Davis. R.H.C & Chibnall., M. (1998). The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers, OMT, Oxford and New York: Clarendon. Modern edition, with English translation and commentary.
119. Williams, A & Martin, G.H. (1992, 1986, p156) Domesday Book: Complete Translation, Produced by Alecto in 1986.
120. Williams, A. (2007) The Speaking Cross, the Persecuted Princess, and the Murdered Earl: The Early History of Romsey Abbey.
121. Winkler, E.A. (2013) Royal Responsibility in Post-Conquest Invasion Narratives. PhD Thesis. Faculty of History, University of Oxford, 3 April 2013.
122. Winkler, E.A. (2014) 1074 in the Twelfth Century. Anglo-Norman Studies 36, 2014, 241-258.
123. Woolf, A & McGuigan, N. (2022) England in the Insular World.
124. Wright, P. (1773) Help to English History. An update to the work of the College of Arms in 1709.
125. Wright, T. (1836) The History and Topography of the County of Essex.